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HUMAN PROBLEMS IN BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA

XVII

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Editors
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ELIZABETH COLSON and MAX GLUCKMAN

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SEVEN TYPES OF SEGMENTATION

by

J. A. BARNES

1. Introduction

THE published studies of segmentary political systems have taken us a long way on from Durkheim's first introduction of the term " poly-segmentary " some fifty years ago. There have been many analyses of lineage systems and of similar forms of organization, and it is now clear that segmentation is a social process occurring widely both in primitive States and in stateless societies. In this paper I shall discuss the different types of segmentation found in one particular primitive State. My information is drawn from the Fort Jameson Ngoni [1] and relates for the most part to conditions prevailing between 1821 and 1898.

As is well known the Ngoni were a band of migrant brigands who left Natal in 1821 and marched northward, capturing people as they went and absorbing them into the band. In 1845 their leader died and the State broke up. At the present time there are about a dozen distinct Ngoni kingdoms in different parts of Tanganyika Territory, Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia and Portuguese East Africa. All of these were brought under colonial rule between 1890 and 1910.

It has been suggested that when they began their march the Ngoni numbered about a thousand, and it seems probable that the population of the State in 1845 was between fifty thousand and one hundred and fifty thousand. These figures can only be guesses. The present population of the Fort Jameson group is about eighty thousand and there are over a quarter of a million Ngoni in the whole of Africa. Before the arrival of Europeans, the Ngoni lived on meat, cereals, beer and milk, obtained in part from their own herds of cattle and their own gardens, and in part by hunting and by raiding their neighbours, who for the most part practised shifting cultivation like themselves.

During the period of migration the Ngoni were organized in two distinct ways, in an age-set system and in what I have called a residential system. I have described these systems elsewhere, and shall repeat here only those details necessary to our analysis of segmentation.[2] Both systems were developments of forms of organization found among the northern Nguni people of South-Eastern Africa,

[1] I am much indebted to the Trustees of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute for making possible my work among these people during 1946–9. I am also grateful to many of my colleagues for their comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

[2] See " Fort Jameson Ngoni ", and bibliography therein.

from whom the first members of the Ngoni came. The age-set system can be dismissed briefly. Like the Zulu and Ndebele military systems, it was a simple elaboration of the older grouping of coevals on a local basis found among the Nguni of the present region of Natal. A new age-set was formed every three or four years, depending on military requirements and the availability of lads of the right age, from all boys in the State aged about fifteen years old. In major battles, regiments fought as tactical units. An experienced warrior from a senior regiment took command of the new regiment, but this post was not so important politically as among the Zulu, where princes commanded some regiments. Women were organized for dancing into parallel age-sets.

The Ngoni residential system was a distinctive development of the Nguni arrangement of agnatic lineages. Zwangendaba, the first Paramount Chief of the Ngoni, began his march with a number of followers, some of whom belonged to his own agnatic lineage, and others of whom belonged to segments of other Nguni lineages. These diverse lineage segments were welded together into a unitary political system consisting of what I shall term *primal segments*. Each primal segment had an agnatic core but in addition it contained many members who had been brought in by capture. Primal segments were arranged one within the other in the same fashion as lineage segments, so that in general each primal segment contained inferior primal segments within itself and combined with others of the same order to form superior segments. The highest primal segment of all, containing virtually the whole of the State, was Zwangendaba's own agnatic lineage segment with its captured adherents as well as all the other politically dependent lineage segments with their captives. The leaders of these dependent lineages were given the special title of regional governor.

The Nguni lineage segments were enduring social groups in that each had a recognized head, had an internal organization of its own, and was a unit with certain collective functions such as the settlement of disputes. Among the Nguni only the very smallest lineage segments, with the addition of wives, were residential units. Apart from the larger royal homesteads, the typical Nguni settlement contained the dwellings only of the agnatic descendants of a living man. During the migration the Ngoni took the former royal homesteads as their model, and the bulk of the population lived in large villages containing up to a thousand huts and several thousand inhabitants. In the middle of each village was a large circular cattle byre and the huts were arranged round it. Membership of a village and position within it were determined by the residential system, and the Ngoni primal segments, in addition to having other functions, were essentially residential groups. The members of each small and internally undivided segment lived in a group of huts clustered together. Several adjacent clusters combined together to form a division, inhabited by a primal segment of larger span. The

village as a whole was the dwelling place of a yet larger segment and the members of each of the largest segments of all were distributed in several villages, one of which was its headquarters with the others as satellites.

Wives lived virilocally, divorce was rare, and a married woman belonged to her husband's segment, even after his death. Furthermore a woman, by virtue of her position as wife, could become lady in a segment of her own.

2. Internal Organizations of a Primal Segment

Each segment had a head who, if he was a man, was the political superior or lord (*mfumu*) of all the people within the segment, whom we shall refer to as his dependants. He was responsible to his superiors for law and order within his segment and his dependants had access to higher authority through him. He was able to draw on the services of his dependants for domestic tasks and for agricultural work and the care of cattle, and in political disputes he looked to them for support.

Every man was the potential founder of a new segment, with himself as its head, and every married woman was potentially head of a segment founded for her by her husband. As well as founding his own segment a man, but not a woman, might succeed to the headship of one or more segments of higher order.

Although every segment contained within itself the seeds of further segmentation, the important growing-points of the residential system in its early years were the large numbers of wives gathered by powerful and successful men. Lords with many dependants had also many wives, and it was in terms of these wives, grouped into bevies of some half a dozen co-wives each, that his dependants were organized. It is probable that more women than men were captured so that there were more women than men in the State. The great lords whose names are still remembered all had a score or more of wives, but there must have been many more men who did not acquire either many wives or many dependants and whose names have been largely forgotten.

The division of wives into bevies was a development of the Nguni arrangement whereby wives were divided into the great, the left-hand, and the right-hand houses. Among the Ngoni, some men had as many as six or seven bevies of wives. Each bevy was led by its senior member, who was also lady (*nkosikazi*) of the segment formed round the bevy.

An Ngoni-born man belonged to the segments of his mother, and thus *a fortiori* to the segments of his father, as did an Ngoni-born woman until she married. Thus a segment founded by a man contained his wives, his male agnatic descendants and their wives, and his unmarried female agnatic descendants. Similarly a segment founded for a wife contained the co-wives of her bevy, their sons and

sons' wives and unmarried daughters, and their sons' male and unmarried female agnatic descendants, with their wives. In addition to this agnatic core, each segment contained many people who had come into the Ngoni State by capture. A person who was captured or who joined the Ngoni voluntarily from another tribe was allocated to a segment and was thereby linked quasi-agnatically to the head of the segment, whom he (or she) called *father* or *mother*. His children were born into the segment, and his sons and sons' wives and agnatic descendants were recruited into it in the same manner as if he had been a true agnate of his lord. The founder of a segment nominated a few of his quasi-related male dependants as his lieutenants (*nduna*) to carry out his orders within the segment and to assist him in controlling his people. Where a man had many bevies for whom he founded segments, his lieutenants and other quasi-related dependants were attached to specific bevies and were responsible to the lady in charge of the segment.

The lady of a large segment commanded considerable respect, organized the women of her segment for agricultural and domestic tasks and acted as the representative of her husband, reporting matters of interest to him. A lady did not exercise the same executive power over her segment as a man would have done and while her sons were small, the day-to-day leadership of the segment lay with her first lieutenant. As her eldest son grew up he took over leadership of the segment. After he married he made his own segment and appointed his own dependants within it. The lieutenants of his mother's segment also made their own segments, often leaving a rump segment under the immediate control of the lady. She retained her position as lady beyond the death of her husband. Indeed when a married man died all his wives, whether they were leaders of bevies or not, retained their positions in the segmentary organization unchanged and were cared for by one or more of his close agnatic kinsmen, who acted as pro-husbands. A son born to a widow in the care of a pro-husband [1] succeeded as if he had been fathered by the dead man.

The first bevy formed by a man ranked senior to the others, which we may term subsidiary bevies. The leader of the senior bevy was his great wife and her eldest son was his principal heir. On his death, his heir succeeded him as head of his segment and of any superior segment of which he had been head. If there was no son by the great wife, the heirship passed to the next wife in the bevy, and so on. There was however sometimes uncertainty concerning the order of seniority of bevies. If there was no son by any bevy, the heirship passed to the first lieutenant, whom failing to the second, and so on. No woman could be an heir.

Thus the pattern of segmentation established by a man during his lifetime was perpetuated by his and his wives' several heirs. New segments were continually being formed within existing ones, but

[1] See Evans-Pritchard, *Aspects of Marriage among the Nuer*, p. 14.

once founded, a segment persisted. It remained a social group with its own internal organization and its own fixed position relative to other segments founded earlier.

TABLE I. TERMS USED IN THE ANALYSIS OF SEGMENTS

TERM	DEFINITION
i. *Terms indicating relative position of segments:*	
Inferior segment	A segment forming part of the segment of reference
Superior segment	A segment of which the segment of reference forms part
ii. *Terms denoting type of segment:*	
Primal segment	All the dependants of a lord or lady
Rump segment	At a particular time, all members of a primal segment who had not been allocated to an inferior segment
Residual segment *or* Residue	Defined with respect to any inferior segment, the portion of the primal segment associated with the headquarters
iii. *Terms qualifying segments:*	
Divided segment	A segment containing at least one inferior segment
Undivided segment	A segment containing no inferior segments
iv. *Spatial terms*	
Village	An isolated group of huts built round a central cattle byre
Division	A group of huts forming part of a village and occupied by members of a divided segment
Cluster	A group of huts forming part of a village and occupied by members of an undivided segment
Settlement	A village, division, or cluster
Headquarters	In a primal segment containing one or more villages, the headquarters is that village from which the others have been derived. If a rump segment exists, it is located in the headquarters village
Satellite	In a primal segment containing more than one village, any village other than the headquarters

3. THE FORMATION OF NEW SEGMENTS

The arrangement of primal segments relative to one another was, with few exceptions, fixed and enduring. The arrangement of people in these segments, despite the upheavals occasioned by the formation of new royal bevies and the like, was also largely fixed and a man could not, again with few exceptions, move himself from one segment to another of his own free will. Yet the residential system was a growing one and not merely a static division of the population inherited from the Nguni past. The system altered in many of its details and yet it retained the same structural form. The spatial

reference of the system was continually shifting as the Ngoni moved from one site to another in their wanderings, and prior to 1870 they seem not to have stayed in any one place more than about five years. Although this movement had practical consequences in the external relations of the tribe and in their ecological position, it does not directly concern us here, for the same general pattern of settlement was repeated at each halting-place.

Even with a constant population, new segments are continually formed in any lineage system, for one man may have many sons while another has none. The Ngoni population increased very rapidly, mainly by capture, and many new segments were formed within existing segments as time went on. Concurrently existing segments increased in size. Thus a segment which at the beginning of the march contained only a cluster or division grew in the course of time to village size and beyond, so that now its members occupy several villages. When small, there were no recognized subdivisions within it, but as it grew more and more inferior segments were formed inside it, each with its own distinct settlement.

There were several ways in which a segment could be founded, but certain features applied to all. Foundation of a segment was essentially a process whereby certain of the members of an existing segment were differentiated from the rest. Although every man was potentially the founder of a segment, and every married woman could have a segment formed for her, inevitably many men and many wives died without achieving a segment of their own. It was open to any man who so wished, whether he had come into the tribe by birth or by capture, to attach to himself sufficient dependants, either by fathering them or capturing them or by being given them by his lord, to set up a named recognized cluster of huts within the village and division in which he lived and which then constituted his segment, of which he was the lord. He still remained a dependant of his own lord, and his dependants with him, but whereas before they had all been equally dependants of his lord, now in addition they were specifically his dependants and he was responsible to his lord for them. Similarly it was open for a man to found a segment for any of his wives, and she became the lady of the segment, and leader of the bevy of co-wives in it.

Thus in many instances the foundation of a segment, however large and important it might later become, was largely a matter of local domestic arrangement, an adjustment of face-to-face relations in one corner of a large village. Where the wives or sons or senior lieutenants of a lord with many dependants were concerned, the separation between bevies, or lady and son, or lord and lieutenant, involved the building of new villages, the division of herds of cattle, and the re-alignment of political allegiance. For example, a man who was only third lieutenant in the segment led by the mother of the reigning chief of his day had twenty wives divided into two bevies. Their segments have now grown to two divisions within a large village.

Similarly a man who was second lieutenant of the great wife of a reigning chief had about twenty-five wives whom he organized into bevies and for whom he created segments which have now grown to four distinct villages. The segment formed for a subsidiary bevy of Zwangendaba, the first Paramount Chief, now contains twenty-six villages. For a lord was able to call on the services of everyone in the highest segment of which he was lord, and when a new segment was formed by a powerful lord many key men were moved from existing segments to man the new one, which was usually of village size. Yet despite the differences in scale and political significance, the processes of segment formation remained formally the same at all levels in the State. Every man belonged to a hierarchy of segments; every lord, with the exception of the Paramount Chief, was a dependant of other lords. Similarly every village was headquarters of a segment, and at the same time a satellite of some other village within a superior segment.

Among the Nguni peoples the usual way in which lineage segments were formed was by differentiation between brothers. On the death of their father each brother made a separate settlement of his own which became the nucleus of a new lineage segment, while at the same time the brothers remained united as against more distant agnatic kinsmen and thus maintained intact their father's segment. The division of wives into great, left-hand and right-hand, provided a way in which groups of half-brothers could unite against similar groups. These forms of differentiation were found also among the Ngoni but alongside other forms, and there are other distinctive features of the Ngoni system which are worthy of notice.

We can conveniently distinguish seven distinct types of segmentation which occurred in the Ngoni residential system. For each type we shall give an example drawn from the history of the tribe.

(i) We have noted the division of wives into bevies. The first type of segmentation which we may distinguish is that in which a segment is formed for a subsidiary bevy, i.e. a bevy which does not contain the great wife. Zwangendaba had a wife Mhambose for whom he founded a segment called Emcisweni, and another called Munene Nzima whose segment was called Ekwendini. Each of these wives was leader of a subsidiary bevy. The headquarters of both these segments are now villages in Northern Nyasaland.

(ii) When the sons in a bevy grew up, the first cleavage to appear among them was in terms of different mothers, each group of full brothers grouping themselves together as against similar groups. Where their father was dead, no new bevies could be formed but nevertheless each wife in the bevy now became lady of her own segment founded for her by her sons and lieutenants. An example of this is the segment called Ngiyelweni, which was founded for Faisako, a wife of Paramount Chief Mpezeni I. Faisako was a junior member of the bevy of queens in Fumbeni segment led by

queen Mtizwa soko. Ngiyelweni village is now capital of Chief Maguya's county, Fort Jameson.

(iii) There was a practice among the Ngoni whereby some of the wives in a bevy were grouped into *linked* pairs or trios. A linked junior co-wife was provided for one who was barren or old, or to replace a wife who had died, or merely to honour the husband. She was usually a junior kinswoman of her senior, and the children that she bore were treated as if they had been borne by her senior. Within the group of sons born to the co-wives of a bevy those with linked mothers were more closely identified with one another than those whose mothers were not linked. Nevertheless it was possible for a segment to be formed with a junior linked co-wife as lady in differentiation of her offspring from those of her linked senior. I do not know of any instance in which both the senior and junior linked co-wives bore sons who were later grouped into segments with their physiological mothers as ladies, but it is possible that this did sometimes happen. However there is an example of a slight variant of this, in the promotion of a junior linked co-wife to independent status. The traditional arrangement was that a junior co-wife who had borne many sons for the benefit of her linked senior should be rewarded by the creation of her own segment to which she was allowed to take her youngest son. Sosela Nxumalo was wife of Zwangendaba and linked junior to his barren great wife Loziwawa, her kinswoman. We shall remark on her early history later, but at this point all we need say is that her eldest son Mpezeni I was attached to the headquarters of Mtenguleni, founded posthumously for her barren senior, and that Sosela was given her own segment Dingeni to which she took her younger son Nzyovhu. The headquarters of this segment is now the capital village of Chief Mishoro, Fort Jameson.

(iv) An important characteristic feature of the residential system was the process whereby a lord's eldest son founded a segment of his own as well as succeeding his father. When the heir had acquired a few wives he made a segment inferior to his father's segment, in which he lived with his wives, children and other dependants. His great wife was lady of this segment. On the death of his father he assumed leadership of his father's segment, but his own segment remained as a distinct social group within it and, indeed, to some extent in opposition to the headquarters founded by his father. However it was customary for him to place one of his wives in his father's headquarters, and her eldest son grew up there and was to some degree identified with the founder of the headquarters, his father's father, as against his own father. For example, Zwangendaba, Hlatshwayo's heir, founded the segment Emveyeyeni for his great wife Loziwawa and placed another wife in the headquarters of Elangeni segment, founded by his father Hlatshwayo for his great wife Mqamache Nzima. Similarly Mpezeni, as the heir of Zwangendaba, founded Loangeni for his great wife Lupoko Pakati but also placed a wife in Mtenguleni segment which had replaced the

annihilated Emveyeyeni segment. The village of Elangeni is now in Northern Nyasaland, while Loangeni and Mtenguleni villages are the capitals of Chief Mpezeni and Chief Madzimawe in Fort Jameson District.

(v) The process by which a son who was not an heir founded his own segment was similar, except that he did not place a wife in his father's segment. Not every son made a segment of his own but those who attracted dependants did so to differentiate their following from those of their full brothers. Thus Ntabeni, a junior son of Hlatshwayo, made his own segment Engwenyameni for his great wife within his father's segment Elangeni. Engwenyameni segment is now in Kahama District, Tanganyika Territory.

(vi) It was not only wives and sons who could become heads of new segments founded within a lord's existing segment. Quasi-related men were also able to make their own segments inferior to that of their lord. In recent times this has been the method by which the majority of villages have been founded. An example from Ngoni history is the segment Tondweni founded by Kapatamoyo, a quasi-related dependant of queen Lupoko Pakati in Loangeni segment. The headquarters of Tondweni is now the capital village of Chief Kapatamoyo, Fort Jameson.

(vii) The last type of segmentation we have to consider occurred only rarely, perhaps only once. Mpezeni, eldest son of Zwangendaba's great wife's linked junior, was conceived in Emveyeyeni, the segment of Zwangendaba's great wife, but before he was born this segment was annihilated on Zwangendaba's orders, as he suspected treason. The pregnant woman was spared and later there was at least a partial reconciliation between her and Zwangendaba. After Zwangendaba's death his brother, acting as regent, made a new segment Mtenguleni in which he placed Mpezeni and his mother Sosela. Although she was the senior woman in this segment she was not regarded as its lady. If anyone may be said to have been lady it was her linked senior, the barren great wife Loziŵaŵa, who had died many years before. The segments formed for Zwangendaba's subsidiary bevies were already in existence when Mtenguleni was founded and did not form part of it. As we have noted, Sosela later made her own segment Dingeni within Mtenguleni. I do not know of any other similar incident in Ngoni history, either in the royal line or among commoner families, but the sequence of events is of interest, for it shows how the Ngoni improvised in the face of an unusual situation.

All our examples have been drawn from historically important Ngoni segments. At least some of the same processes of segmentation are also to be found in the histories of lesser segments headed by commoners. For purposes of analysis we can apply these examples of the different types of segmentation to the system as a whole. The types are set out in Table II.

TABLE II. SEVEN PROCESSES OF SEGMENTATION

Process	*Relationship of head of new segment to head of existing segment*
i.	Wife, the leader of a subsidiary bevy of wives
ii.	Wife, subordinate within a bevy of wives but not junior in a linked pair or trio
iii.	Wife, a junior in a linked pair or trio
iv. (*a*)	Son and main heir
v. (*a*)	Son, not the main heir
vi. (*a*)	Lieutenant or other quasi-related dependant
vii.	Great wife, earlier demoted and now restored to favour

(*a*) When a segment formed by process iv, v or vi was itself divided, the great wife of the male head might also be regarded as head of the segment.

4. RELATIVE FREQUENCY OF DIFFERENT SEGMENTATION PROCESSES

We may now consider how frequently these various processes occurred during the lifetime of the residential system. After the British had conquered the Ngoni in 1898 the residential system, with the rest of Ngoni life, changed its form. Nevertheless many of the segments founded before 1898 still endure as residential groups, and it might have been possible to examine the histories of a sample of these and so gain some idea of which processes were most common. However a large number of segments have also been formed since 1898, and while it is fairly easy to determine whether or not a village was in existence as a distinct entity in 1898, it is more difficult to decide whether or not the segment from which it has sprung had already been formed by that date. It has seemed best therefore to extend the definition of process (vi), the formation of a segment by a quasi-related dependant, in accordance with modern conditions. After 1898 the mean size of villages decreased, the number of distinct villages increased, and many people began to live in small villages led by men to whom they were related merely by cognation or affinity, rather than by agnation or quasi-agnation as in former times. Leaders of small clusters of relatives in these modern villages began to break away and form villages of their own in much the same manner as the quasi-kinsmen of a lord had done before the conquest. We may legitimately regard this as an extension of process (vi), for in modern times the quasi-kinship link between lord and captive has largely disappeared and in many instances has been subsumed in a tie of cognation or affinity. With this extension of meaning, we may classify the segments round which modern villages have been built in terms of the process by which they were founded, and thus make an estimate of the frequency with which the different processes occurred.

The data from a casually collected sample of villages are set out in

Table III, first and last columns. Some segments, those led by regional governors, were formed before the Ngoni march began, and these have been shown separately. All the villages in the sample are in the Northern Rhodesian section of the Fort Jameson group, and I have not included any villages which were founded in other tribal areas and subsequently moved into Ngoniland after 1898. I have also excluded villages founded by direct Administrative action, or by immigrant labourers who have moved into Ngoniland on their own

TABLE III. RELATIVE FREQUENCY OF DIFFERENT PROCESSES OF SEGMENTATION

Process by which segment was formed	*Type of present-day village formed round the segment*						
	Royal			*Cadet*	*Commoner*	*Total*	
	Capital	*Regal*	*Chief's*				
i.	1	5	0	1	2	9	13·5%
ii.	0	0	0	0	0	0	
iii.	0	0	0	0	0	0	
iv.	0	2	0	1	0	3	4·5%
v.	0	1	0	3	11	15	22%
vi.	0	0	0	0	40	40	60%
vii.	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Total	1	8	0	5	53	67	100%
Unknown	0	0	0	1	3	4	
Segments of regional governors	0	0	0	0	3	3	
Grand total	1	8	0	6	59	74	

Sample collected casually in the general course of fieldwork.

account and subsequently founded villages there. There are about 540 villages of all kinds in the ten Northern Rhodesian counties, and about 450 of these have sprung from segments of the residential system. Thus the sample contains about 16 per cent of the universe from which it was drawn. However, the villages were selected casually and arbitrarily, without reference to this particular problem, and are merely those that I happened to visit and from which I was able to get an intelligible history. I also collected the histories of several counties, in the course of which I became acquainted with incidents in the histories of many other villages. I have excluded

this source of information from the sample in order to avoid weighting it too heavily with capital and chief's villages, whose names occur frequently in county histories. In consequence the sample contains no chief's village at all.

The most common process in the sample of villages is (vi), the differentiation of a quasi-related dependant or a cognate or affine from his lord. Next is the differentiation of a junior son from his father, process (v), and third is process (i), the differentiation of a subsidiary bevy from the great wife's bevy. There are no instances of processes (ii), (iii), or (vii).

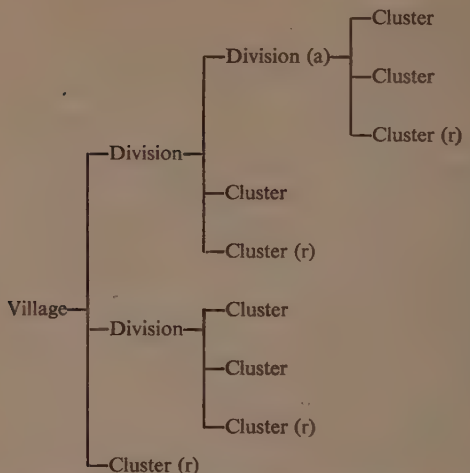
The relative frequencies indicated in this table should be accepted only with caution. In the first place the sample was not collected in a careful manner and it is clear that some bias has been introduced, although it is difficult to say exactly in what direction this lies. From a comparison with more carefully chosen samples we can say that in the table there are more villages founded by regional governors than would be found in a representative sample. Furthermore the table relates only to those segments which have given rise to present-day villages. There must have been very many segments in the old system which have either disappeared completely or else are still only of division or cluster size. Some processes of segmentation may have been more closely correlated with large and successful segments than others. For instance it seems that process (i), the differentiation of one bevy from another, was employed particularly by politically influential men who were able to acquire many wives, and whose newly-founded segments were larger than the average. This process may therefore have been less frequent in the system as a whole than an analysis of segments of village size alone would suggest. Thirdly in many accounts of village history it is difficult to distinguish between process (v) on the one hand and processes (i), (ii), or even (iii), on the other. All that is remembered now is that A was headman of a village or lord of a segment and that B, one of his junior sons, became head of another. We cannot always determine whether the new segment was founded by B, i.e. by process (v), or whether it was founded by A for one of his wives, the mother of B, i.e. by process (i), (ii) or (iii). Some of the segments shown in the table under processes (i) and (v) may therefore be wrongly classified. However, despite these shortcomings, the table shows clearly the importance of process (vi), redefined as explained above to apply to conditions both before and after the conquest. This conclusion accords with the large number of recorded instances of men who rose to positions of influence in the Ngoni State although they were not Ngoni-born.

The division of the villages in our sample into the five categories shown in the middle columns of Table III gives us further information about the different segmentation processes. The Fort Jameson group of Ngoni are now divided into twelve county chiefdoms, ten in Northern Rhodesia and two in Nyasaland. Each county chief is

both the political head of all the villages in his county, in terms of the Native Authority system, and the lord of the residential segment to which the majority of the villages in his county belong. Thus in the same way as the Ngoni agnatic lineage segments formed the core of segments in the residential system, so certain segments of the residential system now form the core of counties. The headquarters of the county segment is the capital village of each county. As before, chiefs have continued to make their own new segments of village size so that in each county, apart from the capital, there are a number of other villages founded by former chiefs and one village in which the present chief lives. These we refer to as regal and chief's villages respectively. Junior sons of chiefs and others in the royal lineage not in the direct line of succession to chieftainships have also made village segments, which we call cadet villages, and which are similar to the villages with commoner headmen except that the headman bears the royal descent name. As we should expect, most commoner villages have been formed by the differentiation of a quasi-relative or cognatic or affinal relative from his lord, that is, by process (vi). On the other hand, most royal villages have been formed by differentiation between bevies of co-wives or between sons and their fathers, that is, by processes (i) to (v).

5. Spatial Differentiation

At any one time the location of the Ngoni tribe in Africa was determined by a multitude of factors with which we are not concerned here. Within the area in which they happened to be settled, the spatial distribution of dwelling huts was determined by the arrangement of people in segments. We are now in a position to define our spatial terms more precisely. We mentioned earlier that a village was a distinct spatial entity containing one central cattle byre and up to three thousand people. It was separated from other villages by stretches of garden and uncultivated land. A village was split into a number of divisions, and a division into a number of clusters, with one cluster, inhabited by the rump segment of the village, not belonging to any division. Thus we may define a *cluster* as a group of huts forming part of a village, inhabited by members of an undivided segment, either primal or rump. A *division* is a group of huts forming part of a village inhabited by people belonging to a divided segment, i.e. a segment with inferior segments within it. This terminology allows for divisions within divisions, if there was more than one stage of fragmentation intermediate between village and cluster. I do not know any instances of this happening, but since many pre-conquest villages were very large, and many clusters very small, it seems probably that this did sometimes occur. One cluster in each division was inhabited by the rump of the divisional segment. The arrangement of clusters and divisions in a hypothetical village is shown in Diagram 1.



Each cluster marked (r) was inhabited by a rump segment. Each unmarked cluster was inhabited by an undivided primal segment.
(a) The occurrence of intermediate divisions, such as this one, is uncertain.

DIAGRAM 1. ARRANGEMENT OF CLUSTERS AND DIVISIONS IN A HYPOTHETICAL VILLAGE

Spatial differentiation went on independently of the founding of new segments. We have noted that when a new small and undivided segment was founded, there was at first little alteration in the lay-out of the huts inhabited by the members of the new segment. Later, when the new segment had grown in size, there would be greater spatial changes. The boundary between it and its neighbour segments became more distinct and finally the crucial step was taken and the segment as a whole moved out of its village to found a village of its own, with its own domestic economy. It is this event which is best remembered in the histories of many villages, even though the physical distance between a parent village and a newly-born satellite was not at first very great. With the passage of time and recurrent moves from one site on the march to the next, villages of common origin gradually drifted apart, so that today it is not unusual to find a village thirty miles away from another from which it has sprung.

The process of independent spatial differentiation was fundamental to the working of the residential system. It permitted one segment to expand faster than another of the same span, and yet to retain the structural relationship between them unaltered. It enabled the structural alignment of social groups, established when they were mere clusters and divisions within a single village, to be maintained despite the expansion of these groups to village size and beyond. The formal position of a segment in the residential system did not

depend on its size but on where within the system it had been founded. Increase in size was inevitably associated with increased internal segmentation, but the external relations of the segment remained unchanged, at least in formal terms. Many present-day villages only became villages after 1898, but the position of the social groups who inhabit them, in so far as the residential system is concerned, is determined by the position of the clusters within the large pre-conquest villages from which these small modern villages have sprung. This is particularly true of relations between groups of half a dozen villages or so within a single county, or even cutting across county boundaries. The Administration has largely altered the organization of the State at the highest level by the introduction of Native Authorities and county chieftainships, and has also brought about major changes in the internal organization of villages. The social region in between counties and villages has, despite the recent introduction of parishes, been left alone for the most part and it is here that the working of the residential system can be best seen at the present time. At funerals, on formal occasions connected with headmanship, and in the settlement of serious quarrels outside the framework of the Native Courts, the traditional alignments determined by the residential system are still effective. In these situations satellite villages still defer to their seniors, and the headquarters village still serves as a headquarters and general meeting-place.

Spatial separation was an index of political independence in so far as it indicated segmentary differentiation. But in addition spatial separation led of itself to some measure of independence. This was true to a limited extent in the formation of clusters and divisions, for the physical arrangement of huts within a village did affect the pattern of daily face-to-face contacts. The critical stage came with the formation of a separate village. The new headman no longer saw his political superiors every day, and had a byre of his own in which he could sit with his people. He was also responsible for his own herd. At the present time, the formation of a new segment usually takes place without opposition, and the village headman watches it grow from cluster to division size with approval, for it is his village which benefits from the growth. His authority as headman is not challenged until the lord of the growing segment begins to talk of making a village of his own. Sometimes villages split peacefully, at other times a quarrel is the precipitating cause. The histories of present-day villages do not throw much light on the motives of village formation before the conquest, but it seems probable that conditions then were similar.

Thus although there was a close congruence between spatial and segmental division, ambitious men sought to enhance their status in both frames of reference. The very congruence of the two systems arose because power lay in both. In an uncomplicated society like the Ngoni, a man's position in one system could not be too largely at variance with his position in the other.

6. Rump and Residual Segments

So far we have discussed only one kind of social group in the residential system, what we have termed a primal segment. There were, however, other kinds of social groups and groupings which emerged in the working of the system, and which we may regard as combinations of, or sub-divisions of, primal segments. The first kind of group which we must now consider is the rump segment. When a small primal segment was formed, it was undivided, that is, the people belonging to it were individuals with status obligations to one another and with diversified inter-personal relationships, but there were no social groups within the segment which could emerge as independent units. As the segment grew larger, new primal segments were formed within it, as we have seen, in a variety of ways. Yet the formation of new inferior segments was not a simple matter of splitting an existing segment into a number of smaller parts of similar composition, as is sometimes the case in lineage systems. In general there was one part in each segment which did not belong to any of the constituent inferior primal segments, and it is this part that we have called the rump. Thus if a lady had two sons, her segment sometimes contained two inferior segments founded by her sons and in addition a rump. She was specifically in charge of the rump segment as well as being in general charge of the whole segment.

The same situation occurs in lineage systems, but where we have to deal only with unilinearly recruited membership of segments, the passage of time eventually removes all the members of the older generations, and the rump, as it were, disappears. The Ngoni segment contained quasi-related dependants as well as agnates, and it was they who prolonged the life of the rump. Each lord and lady retained some quasi-related dependants as personal followers after their sons and lieutenants had formed their own inferior segments. These personal followers came to constitute a group with a recognized dwelling place and internal organization, and like every other group in the residential system recruited members by birth and capture.

The rump segments were, by definition, undivided and small, and often died out owing to further segmentation. However the same principle of " division with remainder " applied on a much bigger scale and was there of considerable importance. We have mentioned how a segment containing several villages had as its headquarters the village from which all the others had sprung. The headquarters, like the rump, was in some sense the remainder left behind when all the politically important people in the segment had moved off to form segments of their own. Thus, for example, as far as we can tell when the segment of Mkuchweni was founded for queen Zinkhave Maklangane, leader of a subsidiary bevy of Zwangendaba, there were four queens and three lieutenants in the new village. Two sons were

born and in due course they, with the three lieutenants, each made their own segment and later broke out of the village to found their own villages. Yet the village remains today and is indeed quite a large village by present-day standards, despite the absence from it of any of the direct descendants of the leaders for whom it was founded. In general, the older a village is, the larger the primal segment of which it is the headquarters ; but also the longer the time to which it has been exposed to this process of continually throwing off its most illustrious members. Thus Mtenguleni, the oldest of all the villages in the Fort Jameson group and headquarters of the highest segment, is inhabited by none of the successors of the great names associated with Mtenguleni segment in Ngoni history. Nevertheless the village remains the headquarters of the segment, a meeting-place for solemn occasions and a symbol of the glorious past.

Similarly within each county there is a capital village, headquarters of the county segment, and there are also the various regal villages which are headquarters of segments founded by former chiefs. The regal villages have the same place in the settlement of disputes and affairs of headmanship as we have noted above for any headquarters village, but they have no defined rôle in the Native Authority scheme. Their chief political importance is in connexion with attempts to split the existing county chiefdoms and to create new counties.

The existence of a headquarters has given rise to yet another kind of grouping within the residential system, which we may call the residual segment or residue. This concept is most clearly developed in relation to the larger segments, but is sometimes found with smaller ones. Where a man broke out from the headquarters village of his segment to form a village of his own, he set himself up as head of a settlement in contradistinction to the headquarters. If subsequently other men also broke out from the headquarters he continued to identify them with it as against his own group. Thus if lieutenant X broke out of the headquarters of Q segment, leaving lieutenants Y and Z still in the headquarters, and subsequently Y and Z also made their own villages, X continued to associate them with Q village as against his own village. This applied particularly to segments breaking out of the headquarters village subsequently but it was merely a recognition of the fact that structural separation, and indeed in many cases spatial separation as well, increased with time, and that recent emigrants from the headquarters were more closely associated with it than those who had emigrated earlier. Thus if a satellite village maintained fairly close relations with the headquarters, it tended to be associated with it even by men in villages which had broken out later but which had drifted farther away. The concept of a residual segment is thus a relative one, for it is defined afresh in respect of each inferior primal segment. Nevertheless it is a form of grouping of significance in Ngoni history.

We have mentioned that the heir to a segment placed one of his

wives in the headquarters of the segment even though he might have broken out of the headquarters. The eldest son of this wife grew up to be head of the residual segment, defined with respect to his father's segment. Thus, for example, Mpezeni I placed a wife in Mtenguleni. This wife's son, Madzimawe, grew up in Mtenguleni and was the senior man in the headquarters. He was not head of Mtenguleni primal segment, for his father Mpezeni I, and after him Mpezeni's eldest son's eldest son, Mpezeni II, succeeded to that position. Nor was Madzimawe merely headman of the headquarters village of Mtenguleni, for the satellite villages which broke out from Mtenguleni in later years remained under Madzimawe's control. Indeed ere long Madzimawe himself broke out to form his own village. Yet he remained political head of a grouping containing the headquarters village and various satellite villages some of which had broken out from Mtenguleni's headquarters before, and others after, the formation of his father's segment Loangeni. With the development of the Native Authority system, other segments which had broken out from Mtenguleni, namely Cikenkheni, Dingeni and Mkuchweni, asserted their independence of Madzimawe. Thus in our terminology we would say that Madzimawe became head of the residue of Mtenguleni segment, defined with reference to Loangeni, Cikenkheni, Dingeni and Mkuchweni. Under former conditions this is a grouping which would have emerged only in situations in which the interests of the last four named segments were opposed to the rest of Mentguleni. The Native Authority framework has however made this alignment permanent and the residue has passed from a grouping into an organized group which now forms the core of the Madzimawe county chiefdom.

The terms primal, residual and rump segments are illustrated in Diagram 2.

The application of segment names is related to the existence of these various kinds of groups and groupings. Every primal segment had a proper name of its own, selected by its founder or by his lord and referring cryptically to some event connected with its formation. This name was also used as the name of the headquarters village and as the name of residue by those with respect to whom the residue was defined. The rump segment, which was usually only a cluster of huts in the headquarters village, was referred to by a special term [1] meaning " in the middle " or " inside " and not by any proper name.

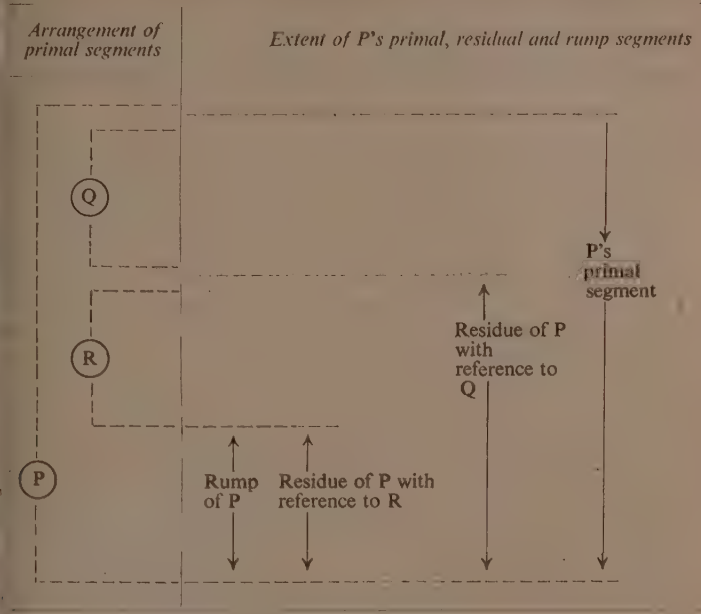
Any primal segment could also be referred to by the personal name of its original head, in the locative case, and the people in the primal segment were known as the people of his or her place.[2] These personal names were applied also to rump segments of whatever size. The personal name of the first head of the segment, if he were a man, was adopted as an alternative name by his heir if he were a kinsman

[1] *Pakati*. Cf. Zulu, *phakathi*, in the midst.

[2] E.g. *Gwaza*, a man's name; *kwaGwaza*, Gwaza's segment; *ŵantu ŵakwa-Gwaza*, the people in Gwaza segment.

and sometimes even when he was not. The names of ladies of segments were not inherited by their heirs, but segments continued to be known by the personal names of ladies even after their death.

Thus the application of names shows clearly the way in which



Chronological order of formation of primal segments:
earliest P Q R latest

DIAGRAM 2. PRIMAL, RESIDUAL AND RUMP SEGMENTS

people aligned themselves in the growing residential system. People were grouped together by others under a single name because they had interests in common. In different contexts groups of different orders opposed each other and the range of application of proper names varied with the order of the groups involved.

7. CONCLUSION

The various processes of segmentation and grouping which we have discussed here did not take place in isolation. The system was affected by the ecological conditions in which it found itself and by the chance variations between one member of the system and another. The peculiar parasitic economy which the Ngoni enjoyed at the expense of their neighbours enabled them to free themselves

very largely from ecological constraints so far as their internal organization was concerned. One estimate puts the density of population of the Fort Jameson group in 1898 at 375 persons to the square mile, although the carrying capacity of the land is only about 25. Ecological conditions were probably significant in determining the size of the State as a whole but discussion of fission in the State would take us beyond the bounds of this paper. We have been here concerned only with segmentation, the process by which any social group becomes subdivided internally and yet retains its own unity and cohesion. By fission we mean the process by which a social group divided into two or more distinct groups, so that the original group disappears as a social entity.[1] Fission was of great importance in the history of the Ngoni State, and was the end result of segmentation within it. But whereas Ngoni tribal history is largely a story of continued fission, the histories of most of the constituent groups within the Ngoni State are mainly accounts of continued segmentation. Fission did occur within the State, as for example when there was a dispute over succession and two rival claimants to the headship of a segment divided the segment between them ; but such incidents seem to have been comparatively rare.

Within the State, the organization of people into segments, the distribution of their huts over the land, and the number of people belonging to each unit, were all inter-related. Increase in numbers, if they were dependants, implied more lieutenants, and if they were wives, more bevies, for it was through this arrangement of bevies and lieutenants that practical tasks were accomplished—food cooked, beer brewed, animals tended and gardens cultivated. A lord with many dependants made some of them lieutenants to enhance his own prestige, to secure the loyalty of his more ambitious followers, and through them to secure the efficient services of those who were not ambitious. It seems probable that size of population also affected spatial separation, for if a village was too big presumably it was difficult to find sufficient grazing in the vicinity for the cattle in its byre and difficult to find garden land at a reasonable distance for all its inhabitants. But in the absence of any detailed information on sizes of gardens and availability of grazing land it is difficult to speak with certainty.

We have described all the different kinds of segmentation met with in the system, but there were many occasions when segmentation which was theoretically possible did not take place. A man who did not attract dependants did not found a segment. Many men were killed in the continual fighting before they had had time to found segments. Some men were less successful than others in warfare and were allocated fewer captives. Not all wives bore sons and a

[1] This use of terms differs from that of Fortes. He uses " segmentation " to refer to a *state* of internal subdivision within a group and " fission " to refer to the *process* of internal subdivision. Cf. Fortes, *Web of Kinship, passim.* I am indebted to Mrs. U. P. Mayer for this observation.

lady's segment was less likely to flourish without sons than with sons. Thus the chances of war and the accidents of fertility, as well as the changing fortunes of dependants relying on the favour of their lord, all influenced the growth of segments relative to one another.

The Ngoni residential system had many of the characteristics of a lineage system, and yet it was not a system of agnatic lineages as we usually understand that term. The Ngoni recognized agnatic descent, and recruitment by birth into the residential system was governed by this principle. Had the Ngoni State lasted for many generations and had recruitment by birth become more important than recruitment by capture or by voluntary accession, then some form of lineage system might have re-emerged. As it was, a few of those born before the State was founded remained alive to see it largely destroyed only seventy-seven years later; and throughout this time many more people joined the State by capture than were born into it. We may regard the residential system as a lineage system which was accelerated so that instead of rearing his own dependants a lord acquired them adult, by capture from outside the system. It was a means whereby a large number of people, of very diverse biological parentage, were organized in agnatic terms and with a small generation depth.

In the Ngoni system, segmentation usually took place with remainder, leaving within each primal segment a rump and a hierarchy of residual segments. In general a lineage founded by a man with two sons may be segmented into two parts, each headed by one of his sons. The Ngoni analogue was a segment founded by a man and containing within itself two inferior segments each headed by one of his sons and in addition a rump segment or, if the segment were large, a headquarters. Again, segments did not subdivide at single moments of time. Within a primal segment, one inferior segment was formed after another, and although the resulting inferior segments were all of the same order, the structural separation between them was measured partly in terms of their position in chronological sequence. Thus all the inferior segments formed after any particular one were grouped together in the corresponding residual segment.

Segmentary differentiation and spatial differentiation were partially independent of each other, and the formation of a distinct village of its own was the critical point in the history of a growing segment. From then on it had a headquarters of its own. Segmentary differentiation was also partially independent of generation level. Whereas the segment founded by one man might be inferior to one founded for his mother, and that inferior to one founded for the leader of her bevy, and that in turn inferior to the segment founded for her great co-wife, yet his eldest half-brother founded his segment directly inferior to the great wife's segment. Similarly segments of the same order often had founders belonging to different generations. Thus in many respects the Ngoni residential system

was a very flexible arrangement, well suited to their hazardous way of life.

We have called this the residential system because among other things it determined the pattern of settlement of the tribe. In most simple societies land is put to many uses and we can speak of grazing, hunting and cultivation as well as residential areas. Unfortunately we know little about the way in which rights in cultivated and grazing lands were distributed in the old Ngoni State although, if the present position is any indication, it is likely that there was no well-developed system of land holding. After dwelling in any one area for five years or so the tribe moved on, partly because the soil was no longer so fertile and partly for other reasons. Thus rights to land did not endure. We do, however, know more about the way in which dwelling huts were arranged. The disposition of these circular pole-and-mud huts was determined by the political affiliation of the people who lived in them, that is, by their position in the residential system. Yet the spatial arrangement of huts did not determine political affiliation, for political groups were not defined territorially. Relative geographical position did not determine, but was determined by, political affiliation. Political affiliation persisted despite changes in locality and similar patterns of residence were repeated in the different places at which the Ngoni stayed.

The same principles of organization applied at all levels of the residential system. If we imagine the State as a tree, the main branches were arranged on the trunk in the same fashion as were the twigs on the minor branches. Thus we can describe the system, in some particulars but not in all, without specifying whether we are talking of a large social group or a small one. We can, as it were, speak of the characteristics of a branch without indicating whether it is a green shoot or a gnarled limb, or even the trunk itself. Consistency within the State gave it fluidity, for there was virtually no occupational specialization. Every man, of however humble an origin, was potentially a great lord, even as every small segment contained within itself the seeds of a State.

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THE DIRECTOR'S REPORT TO THE TRUSTEES ON THE WORK OF THE RHODES-LIVINGSTONE INSTITUTE DURING THE YEARS 1950, 1951, 1952

presented (January 1953) by the Director, J. C. Mitchell, B.A.(Soc.Sc.), B.A.(Hons.), [S.A.], D.Phil.[Oxon]

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I SUBMIT to the Trustees the fifth triennial report.

In the last paragraph of the fourth triennial report my predecessor, Dr. Colson, ended on a note of confident optimism. The grants for the Research Scheme R370 had just been approved by the Colonial Social Science Research Council and Dr. Colson could write: "The work of the Institute can therefore be expected to expand, and the impact of its work become more easily seen throughout Central Africa." It is the task of the present Director to outline the ways in which the new scheme came into operation and the course of its development during the three years under review.

ADMINISTRATION

I. The Board of Trustees

The Rhodes-Livingstone Institute was the first of the Colonial research institutes to be launched. It was founded on the initiative of Sir Hubert Young, who was then Governor of Northern Rhodesia. Colonial Research Institutes started subsequently have been attached to University Colleges, so that the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute is unique among them in its form of administration. The administering body is a Board of Trustees whose composition is laid down in an Ordinance of the Government of Northern Rhodesia. Unlike other colonial research institutes a good proportion of its funds is contributed locally. At the end of 1952 the composition of the Board was:

President

His Excellency the Governor of Northern Rhodesia, Sir Gilbert M. Rennie, K.C.M.G., M.C.

Members

The Financial Secretary, R. M. Taylor, Esq.
The Secretary for Native Affairs, R. P. Bush, Esq., O.B.E.
The Provincial Commissioner for the Southern Province, G. C. Clay, Esq.
An Unofficial member of the Legislative Council, H. J. Millar, Esq.
Colonel Sir Ellis Robins, D.S.O., E.D.
L. Tucker, Esq., Rhodesian Selection Trusts.

Mr. Thornton resigned from the Board of Trustees when he retired from the Colonial Service in 1951. Mr. Fane-Smith's place on the

Board was taken by his successor at Livingstone, Mr. F. R. G. Phillips, who in turn was succeeded by Mr. G. C. Clay. We regret that Mr. J. F. Morris, who had been a Trustee since 1946, had to resign because of ill health. His place was taken by Mr. H. J. Millar. Mr. Clark of Rhokana Corporation Ltd., who had become a Trustee in 1949, resigned when he left the territory in 1951 and his place on the Board was taken by Mr. L. Tucker of Rhodesian Selection Trusts Ltd.

Colonel Sir Ellis Robins became a Trustee of the Institute in 1943, so that at the end of 1952 he had completed almost ten years on the Board. The President, Sir Gilbert Rennie, Colonel Sir Ellis Robins and the Secretary for Native Affairs, Mr. R. P. Bush, were members of the Board for the entire three years under review.

II. Finances

Revenue : the Five-Year Research Scheme

Prior to 1950 the Institute was assisted from Colonial Development and Welfare Funds by grants for specific research projects (Schemes R31 and R194), and by grants in aid of Central Office expenses (Scheme R187). With effect from 1st January 1950, these schemes were cancelled and merged into a comprehensive scheme for a five-year programme of research (Scheme R370). The programme, as outlined by Dr. Colson, was to cost £102,052 over the five years 1950 to 1954. Seventy per cent of annual expenditure, up to a maximum of £71,000 over the five years, is being met from Colonial Development and Welfare Funds under R370. The Institute was asked to find the remaining 30 per cent locally. Largely as a result of the efforts of the President of the Board of Trustees, this was done. The Governments of Central and East Africa, and the five mining companies of Northern Rhodesia, were already making annual contributions totalling £1,850 ; this would amount to £9,250 over the five years. The mining companies and the British South Africa Company agreed to make special annual contributions during each of the five years of the Scheme, and the Northern Rhodesia Government agreed to contribute, in addition to its standing grant of £1,000 per annum, the sum of £3,615 for each of the five years of the scheme. Grants to the scheme from all sources are as shown on the next page.

I should like to take this opportunity to express my appreciation of the generosity of our contributors and of their continued interest in the work of the Institute.

Expenditure : the Five-Year Research Scheme

The comprehensive research scheme was planned to last five years. The funds were to cover the appointment of three anthropologists, one demographer, two urban sociologists, one lawyer, one historian, two senior African assistants and six junior African assistants, in

Donor	*Special grant per annum*	*Standing grant per annum*	*Total over 5 years 1950–54*
	£ *p.a.*	£ *p.a.*	£
Broken Hill Development Corp. Ltd.	50	25	375
British South Africa Company . .	350	—	1750
Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines	400	25	2125
Rhokana Corporation Ltd. . . .	400	100	2500
Roan Antelope Copper Mines Ltd.	400	50	2250
Mufulira Copper Mines Ltd. . .	400	50	2250
Northern Rhodesia Government .	3615	1000	23075
Southern Rhodesia Government .	—	300	1500
Nyasaland Government	—	100	500
Kenya Government	—	50	250
Uganda Government	—	50	250
Tanganyika Government . . .	—	100	500
Colonial Development Fund 70 per cent of annual expenditure . .	—	—	71000
Total grants			£108325

addition to Central Office expenses. I note later that difficulty was experienced in finding suitable candidates for some of the posts. By the end of 1952, the post of first sociologist, vacant since I had accepted the Directorship at the beginning of 1952, had not been filled, neither had the post of demographer nor second senior African assistant. The lawyer and the second sociologist were appointed in November 1952 and January 1953, respectively, and all three anthropologists had been appointed later than 1st January 1950, the date when it was intended that their five-year contracts should start. For this reason, application for permission to continue with the scheme after the end of 1954 has been made to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. At present it is expected that the scheme will continue for seven years, that is, until the end of 1956. Funds for the additional two years' Central Office expenses will be available from savings on the scheme and from standing grants.

Because costs have risen since the scheme was planned it is now expected that total expenditure will not fall far short of the £108,325 subscribed. Notable increases in costs have been the rise in both European and African staff salaries, following the revision in its salary scales made by the Northern Rhodesia Government, and the still rising cost of publishing.

The accompanying statement of revenue and expenditure for the three years 1950 to 1952 shows an excess of £13,188 of revenue over expenditure for 1950 and an excess of £1,328 of expenditure over

revenue for 1952. This arose from the fact that although our grant from Colonial Development and Welfare Funds is received annually on the basis of the previous year's expenditure, we are usually obliged to ask for an advance during the year to cover running costs. In both 1950 and 1951 our actual expenditure was lower than had been expected, and in both years the advances we had received totalled more than 70 per cent of our expenditure during those years. In 1952, therefore, the excess grant which we had received was deducted from the amount which we had earned in 1952 (i.e. from 70 per cent of £14,040, our total expenditure in 1952). Over the three years, our net excess of revenue over expenditure, after this deduction is made, was £16,101. This excess has arisen because of the long delay in making some of the appointments under the scheme, and will be used during the peak years of the scheme, 1953 to 1955, and during 1956 when officers whose appointments were delayed will be completing their contracts.

Capital Grants

In addition to the grant of £71,000 towards the research scheme, we have received from Colonial Development and Welfare funds a grant of £29,000 towards buildings, bringing the total Colonial Development and Welfare grant over the five years to £100,000. The capital grant was received in 1952, and by the end of the year capital expenditure had amounted to £17,035 14*s.* 2*d.*

The five mining companies and the British South Africa Company agreed to contribute, in addition to their standing and special grants to research, capital grants to the Institute's Central Office, amounting to £1,000. This sum is made up as follows:

Broken Hill Development Corporation . . .	£100
British South Africa Company	£100
Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines Ltd. . .	£200
Rhokana Corporation Ltd.	£200
Roan Antelope Copper Mines Ltd.	£200
Mufulira Copper Mines Ltd.	£200

With the exception of the grant from the Broken Hill Development Corporation, these grants were received in 1950, and the amount has been included in revenue for that year as listed in the accompanying statement.

Investments

The following investments of reserve funds (i.e. from the £16,101 described above) have been made:

Post Office Savings Bank, Victoria Falls, S. Rhodesia.	£2132
Post Office Savings Bank, Livingstone, N. Rhodesia .	£1704
Standard Bank, Livingstone (Fixed Deposit) . .	£1500
Barclay's Bank, Livingstone (Fixed Deposit) . .	£1500
First Rhodesia Permanent Building Society . .	£1000
	£7836

Interest from the first two is compounded in the account. Interest from the other three investments have totalled £351 11*s.* 9*d.* up to the end of 1952. It is likely these investments will have to be realized during the last years of the scheme.

Income from subscriptions and sale of publications

The drop in income from members' subscriptions in 1952 was due to the fact that many members were late in paying subscriptions. The increase in income from sale of publications in the same year was largely composed of publishers' royalties on the sale of *Seven Tribes of British Central Africa*. Income from sale of publications should increase during the latter years of the scheme, when the results of the research done will begin to be available.

Beit Research Funds

Of the two Beit Research Fellows, Dr. Holleman was off contract at the end of 1952 and Mr. Hughes was on terminal leave. With the completion of these two contracts the financial contribution of the Beit Trust to our researches ceases. We would like to express our appreciation of the Trust's interest and support.

Expenditure under Scheme R345A

Our 1952 accounts show an expenditure of £361 18*s.* 4*d.* under the above Scheme. This was the Scheme under which Mr. A. L. Epstein worked on his study of African urban courts. The study was not made under the auspices of the Institute, but the Institute agreed to provide a moiety of the costs.

III. Buildings

Dr. Colson in the previous report mentioned that funds had been provided in the new Colonial Welfare and Development grant for new buildings for the Institute. And, as I have mentioned, £29,000 had been included in the application for this purpose. After some discussion the Trustees decided that the new buildings should be erected at Lusaka. A site was chosen on Bordeaux Farm about three-quarters of a mile off the Great East Road about five miles out of Lusaka. The site was adjacent to the new Munali Secondary School. The building had commenced by the end of 1951. The block of offices of U-shape design contain seven offices, a large library and a periodicals room. In addition a house for the Director, one for the Administrative Secretary, and six African houses and a garage were erected. The Administrative Secretary and the Librarian together with the African staff moved into the new premises in November 1952. The Director, who was still engaged in the study of the Copperbelt, moved down in January 1953. As many as possible of the original trees on the site have been left. The grounds have been levelled and lawns and gardens planted. Much

remains to be done, however, but in a year or two we hope that the Institute headquarters will be set in peaceful and pleasant surroundings. Visitors to the Institute's four-roomed wood-and-iron building in Livingstone will hardly fail to notice the agreeable contrast in the new headquarters.

IV. The Administrative Staff

The Director

Once again the Director has changed. Dr. Elizabeth Colson, who had been appointed Director in June 1948, unfortunately had to resign owing to illness in July 1951. I was appointed Director in January 1952. I had been acting Director of research since Dr. Colson went on leave in August 1950.

The Administrative Secretary

Mrs. Close, who had been Secretary to the Institute since November 1948, resigned in July 1950 when Miss Hyam, B.S.S. (Natal), was appointed Administrative Secretary. It is to the credit of Miss Hyam that, following only a month with the previous Director, she was able to run the Administrative side of the Institute as efficiently as she did. Miss Hyam resigned in December 1951 to marry. Her post was advertised in Britain. The person who had been selected from the candidates could not come immediately owing to an unfortunate accident. Mrs. Robinson took the post temporarily, pending the recovery of the appointee in Britain. Unfortunately the expected recovery took much longer than anticipated and Mrs. Robinson, after having agreed to step into the breach for a month, was kind enough, eventually, to stay until August 1952. Ultimately the person who was originally considered suitable for the appointment was advised by her physician that she should stay in England for further treatment and the Trustees accordingly offered the post of Administrative Secretary to Miss Merran McCulloch, M.A.(N.Z.), Dip. Anth. (London), who arrived in Northern Rhodesia on 7th September 1952. Miss McCulloch has been Administrative Secretary since that date.

It is certain that the high turnover of administrative staff of the Institute does not contribute to its efficient running. In the years 1944–52 the Institute has had three Directors and no less than seven Secretaries. A good case could well be made out for a rapid turnover of Directors. The Director is mainly concerned with the planning and organization of research and a rapid turnover of Directors would mean that new ideas and new approaches to research problems could be introduced. The administration of the Institute's affairs, however, is the province of the Administrative Secretary and it is here that the turnover is most undesirable. The task of running a research Institute in which the personnel is always changing and where the financial arrangements with Governments

and other donor bodies are sometimes complicated, is not easy. It is here that experience is most needed. I earnestly recommend that the Trustees consider some means whereby the post of Administrative Secretary could be stabilized.

How unsatisfactory the present position is may be gathered from the situation in the Institute when Miss Hyam left. In an Institute where there are only four or five research staff it does not seem feasible to appoint an Assistant Director. While there is continuity of service of the Administrative Secretary this is scarcely necessary. When Dr. Colson went on leave Miss Hyam was able to handle the administrative and financial affairs of the Institute and I was able to give my attention to the problems that arose out of research. After Dr. Colson resigned this continued for six months until I was appointed Director. During this time I was engaged in a social survey on the Copperbelt and could give no attention to administrative matters. In January 1952 I was appointed Director and had to take responsibility for the administration of the Institute affairs. At the same time Miss Hyam resigned. The position then was that I had a temporary secretary and I personally knew little about the administration of the Institute.

I accept the principle that the Directorship of the Institute is a full-time activity, and cannot see that the Director is able to conduct research. It is the duty of the Director mainly to plan future research, to study current research needs and, of course, to direct the researches of his staff. The editing of our publications is also a duty which cannot be delegated to a subordinate entirely since it involves a knowledge of the subject matter involved.

At the same time the Director is responsible ultimately for the administration of the Institute. Clearly he can only devote his time to the more technical aspects of his duties if the day-to-day administration can be left in the hands of the Secretary who has sufficient knowledge and experience of the Institute's affairs to be able to handle them on his or her own.

Librarian

Mrs. Winterbottom resigned from the librarianship in May 1950 and the post was offered to Mrs. Rybicka, who remained librarian until December 1952. The post was then taken over by Mrs. Ursula Stevenson, B.A. (Cantab), F.L.A., on a part-time basis. The librarian's duties, in addition to the usual duties of classifying and taking books on stock, include the handling of our membership and the distribution of our own publications as they arrive from the printers. Initially the post was a part-time one, but with the increased pressure of work the Trustees found it necessary to convert it into a full-time post. This took place in 1951. When Mrs. Stevenson was appointed she was unable to take the post on a full-time basis and an African library assistant has been appointed who is able to do much of the routine work involved in running the library.

African Staff

Mr. Maxwell Sekambo, our typist, who joined the Central Office Staff in March 1944, also served through the three years, as did Mr. Davidson Sianga. Mr. Sianga was originally Dr. Gluckman's interpreter in Barotseland but joined the Central Office staff as an African research assistant in 1947. During 1950–2 he has been engaged in an urban survey in Livingstone. The rest of the Central Office African staff consisted of a research assistant engaged on punching the results of social surveys on Hollerith cards, one driver, one office boy and two garden labourers.

RESEARCH

I. Previous Research Work

At the end of 1949 the following research projects were still in progress.

Under Scheme R31

The Plateau Tonga. Dr. Colson had been continuing her researches among the Plateau Tonga while she was Director. Dr. Colson left Northern Rhodesia on leave and writing-up in August 1950. During her leave she visited the United States of America and later returned to Manchester University. It was while she was there that she found she could not return to Africa. Her further publications on this area are:

"The Rôle of Cattle among the Plateau Tonga," *Human Problems*, xi (1951), 10–46.
"Residence and Village Stability among the Plateau Tonga," *Human Problems*, xii (1952), 41–67.
"Social Control and Vengeance in Plateau Tonga Society", *Africa* (forthcoming).
"Clans and the Joking Relationship, among the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia", *University of California Publications in Anthropology, Memorial number to Walter Cline* (forthcoming).

In addition the following manuscripts are in the library:

Social Structure and the Cult of the Ancestors among the Plateau Tonga, pp. 70 (foolscap, double spaced).
Marriage among the Plateau Tonga, pp. 202 (foolscap, double spaced).

The Fort Jameson Ngoni. J. A. Barnes went on final leave in June 1949. His thesis on the Fort Jameson Ngoni was accepted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Oxford in October 1951. His subsequent publications on the Fort Jameson Ngoni are:

"African Separatist Churches", *Human Problems*, ix (1950), 26–30.
"History in a Changing Society", *Human Problems*, xi (1951), 1–9.

" Measures of Divorce Frequency in Simple Societies ", *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, lxxix, 1–2 (1951), 37–62.
Politics in a Changing Society. Cape Town, Oxford University Press (forthcoming).

I should mention here that Dr. Barnes's study of marriage appeared as Rhodes-Livingstone Paper No. 20 called *Marriage in a Changing Society* and it was awarded the Wellcome Medal for 1950 as the best submitted piece of anthropological writing involving the study of culture contract.

The Yao of Southern Nyasaland. J. C. Mitchell went on leave in September 1949 but was given a new contract with the Institute in January 1950. His thesis on the Yao was accepted by the University of Oxford for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in June 1950. Further publications on the Yao were:

" An Outline of the Social Structure of Malemia Area ", *The Nyasaland Journal*, iv, 2 (July 1951), 15–48.
" The African Concept of Causality ", *The Nyasaland Journal*, v (July 1952), pp. 51–58.

The following manuscript is in the library:

Marriage among the Machinga Yao of Southern Nyasaland, pp. 99 (foolscap, double-spaced).

A book entitled *The Yao Village: A Study in the Social Structure of a Southern Nyasaland Tribe* is almost ready for the press.

Labour Migration Study. Miss Elliott continued her study of returning labour migrants at Mtoko and Victoria Falls. In January 1951 she went on final leave. Miss Elliott has not produced a consolidated report of her researches. Copies of the material and of the charts and diagrams she produced are deposited at the Institute and they are consulted from time to time. Part of her material, for example, was included in the Report of the Chief Native Commissioner of Southern Rhodesia for the year 1951. A good deal of it will probably be published in a symposium on economic development which the Institute hopes to be able to publish in 1955.

Colonial Development Scheme R194. Mr. Cunnison returned to the Luapula Valley in June 1950. In October 1950 the Mwata Kazembe died and Mr. Cunnison was able to observe not only the burial of one of the most picturesque chiefs in Northern Rhodesia but also the installation of his successor. Mr. Cunnison was due to leave the field in May 1951 but chose to stay on until July in his own time. A thesis based on the material collected during the study was accepted by the University of Oxford in June 1952 for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. A copy of this thesis is in the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute library. It will form the basis of a book at some future date. Dr. Cunnison is now making a study of the Baggara Arabs in the Sudan.

The following are Dr. Cunnison's publications on the Luapula up to date:

Kinship and Local Organization on the Luapula. Communication from the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, No. V. (Livingstone, 1950.) Duplicated pp. 32 (foolscap, double-spaced).

History on the Luapula : An Essay on the Historical Notions of a Central African Tribe, Rhodes-Livingstone Paper No. 21. Oxford University Press (Cape Town), 1951, pp. 42.

" A Watchtower Assembly in Central Africa ", *International Review of Missions* (October 1951).

" The Death and Burial of Chief Kazembe XIV ", *The Northern Rhodesia Journal*, iv (December 1951), 46–51.

" The Installation of Chief Kazembe XV ", *The Northern Rhodesia Journal*, v (June 1952), 3–10.

" The Lunda Concept of Custom ", *Human Problems*, XIV (forthcoming).

Beit Fellows

The Shona Study. Dr. Holleman returned to the field in April 1950. He had spent the rest of his leave preparing his book on Shona Customary Law. He submitted a thesis on this subject to the University of Cape Town in that year and it was accepted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Dr. Holleman returned to the Chibi Reserve, Southern Mashonaland, among the Mari and Govera Tribes. Here he continued his general survey of social, political and economic organizations and of customary law. He made a special study of the effect of the centralization of arable and grazing land on tribal organization. He delivered a paper on this subject to the Institute's research conference in Bulawayo in 1950, and submitted a critical memorandum to the Administration on the topic.

Towards the end of 1950 Dr. Holleman made an extensive village survey on a 10 per cent sample in the Chibi Reserve, which elicited information on labour migration. Dr. Holleman also prepared a lengthy memorandum on the Native Marriage Act of 1950 in which he analysed the misconceptions on which the Act was based and its probable detrimental effect on Native society. He delivered a summary of this memorandum at the Institute's fifth research conference at Kitwe in 1951.

In April 1951 Dr. Holleman went to Mtoko District to study the Budya and Tonga in North-Eastern Mashonaland. Here he followed the same general lines of research as in other areas but with special attention to the function of the *careva* (*Mhondoro*) cult, post-mortem ritual and court procedure.

At the invitation of the National Affairs Association Dr. Holleman delivered a series of lectures on " Marriage and the Position of Women in Native Society ". This is now being prepared for publication.

Dr. Holleman's contract ended in January 1952 but he stayed at

Mtoko for the greater part of his terminal leave writing an account of the post-mortem ritual (Rhodes-Livingstone Paper No. 22) and a memorandum on the social aspect of the proposed African townships at Seki and Ntabazinduna. This memorandum was prepared at the special request of the Minister of Native Affairs.

Dr. Holleman's terminal leave ended in September 1952. In December 1952 he was asked to undertake the organization and management of the African Section of the Rhodes Centenary Exhibition.

The Ndebele Study. Mr. Hughes arrived in Southern Rhodesia in February 1950. Mr. Hughes worked in the Shangani area until December of that year, when he went to the Matopos area. He worked in the Matopos area until April 1951 when he proceeded to the University of Natal in Durban, where under the general supervision of Professor J. D. Krige he did some preliminary writing on his field material. Mr. Hughes returned to Southern Rhodesia in November 1951 and worked in the Matopos area again and later in the Nswazi special Native Area. Mr. Hughes has been concerned mainly with the way in which Ndebele society has become transformed under European control. This involved in particular a study of the new pattern of devolution of authority and the importance of survivals of political patterns of the old Ndebele state structure. It also included a study of the way in which people of diverse origins formerly living in the complicated caste structure of the Ndebele state are now integrated into the modern Ndebele nation. Other important aspects of Mr. Hughes's research are study of some Ndebele mystical beliefs and rituals particularly the " Mlimo " rain cult and spirit possession and the relationships of these to the social structure. This has involved in particular a study of the changes in economy and the settlement pattern and its effects on other aspects of Ndebele social organization.

In November 1952 Mr. Hughes went on terminal leave but spent the period to the end of the year in Southern Rhodesia.

Mr. Hughes's preliminary report on the social organization of the Ndebele will be published in our Papers series as *Caste, Tribe and Nation.* His other publications are:

(with R. Summers) *The Ndebele Warrior : His Arms and Accoutrements* (forthcoming).

(with J. van Velsen) *The Rhodesian Ndebele.* Ethnographic Survey Series (forthcoming).

II. New Research Work

The Institute's new five-year research scheme had been approved by the Trustees in 1948, and during 1949 they had made appeals for funds the details of which are described in the financial section of the report. The new scheme was scheduled to start in January 1950.

THE URBAN AREAS.

I was the first appointment to be made under the new scheme, and was appointed as Senior Sociologist to make a study of the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia. At the time of appointment I was in England and asked that I might be allowed to stay in England for a period of five months during which I went through the literature on urban studies and visited Banbury and Liverpool where urban studies were in progress. I arrived on the Copperbelt in July 1950. From a preliminary survey of the situation in the Copperbelt I decided that the study could best be organized in three separate fields.

1. Research was needed into the composition of the urban population with special emphasis on the degree to which urbanization had taken place and the degree to which the urban population was stabilized. This is a demographic study and could best be approached through a sociographic survey.
2. Research was needed into marriage and family relationships, nutrition and standards of living. This could best be approached by an intensive study of a relatively small selected sample of families.
3. Research was needed into the new political and non-political associations, into the operation of tribalism and the development of stratification in the urban communities. This could best be approached through a sociological study of associations and other similar organizations.

In addition the study of the so-called lawyer in the new five-year scheme was to include a study of Native Administration and the courts in urban as well as rural areas.

It is quite clear that these studies are very closely inter-related and connected. They rely, however, on rather different techniques of field-work. I decided, therefore, that since I had been trained in statistical techniques I should undertake the sociographic survey. The sociographic survey is the foundation on which the other studies would have to rely for the broad general background, and would have to be done first. Later when the sociographic survey was completed I would tackle the study of the social structure. I decided that the study of the families could best be conducted by a suitably trained woman sociologist.

The sociographic survey made a very poor start. In the five-year scheme provision had been made for the employment of two teams of suitably trained African research assistants. Each team was to be composed of a senior research assistant who would be a graduate in social science probably from South Africa (his interpreter allowing for the possibility of his being South African and not knowing the local languages) and three junior research assistants with Standard Eight level of education. The object was to use these teams in investigations employing survey techniques where quantitative results were desirable. It was agreed that initially both teams

should be posted to the Copperbelt study. Plans, however, very seldom take the course they are intended to. Initially it was found almost impossible to find an African graduate to become a team leader. Also it was impossible to recruit suitable junior research assistants on the level of pay that had been allowed for. At the end of 1950 there was only one of the junior research assistants appointed. During 1951 an additional four were appointed but one resigned within three months. In 1951 also, an African graduate was appointed. In 1952 an additional seven were appointed but three resigned, so that at the end of 1952 full strength had been maintained. The African graduate appointed at the end of 1951 resigned in 1952 after six months service. Mr. S. Katilungu was appointed senior research assistant in February 1952 and has held that post ever since. Much credit is due to Mr. Katilungu who has been in control of the whole team since June 1952 and upon whom most of the routine running of the sociographic survey has fallen.

The sociographic survey has been conducted on a 10 per cent sample of all African dwellings, whether in African townships, in temporary compounds, police lines, or private stands. African men and women were individually interviewed. The questionnaire was printed on Hollerith cards and then cards were completed by the interviewers in the field. Questions covered the following points: age, conjugal status, religion, tribe, district of origin, educational level, cash wage, occupation, industry, a detailed history of when he left his rural home, the towns he has lived in, and how long he has been there, a detailed history of marriages and marriage dissolutions. For men a detailed labour history was recorded, and for women a detailed history of childbearing so that reproduction rates may be computed. In addition to this, questions were asked about the attitude of the respondent to town life, and notes were made on the type of housing. In some towns, at the request of Welfare Authorities, we asked questions on cinema attendance, on the use of organized games facilities or the use of leisure time and, in conjunction with the Publications Bureau, on reading habits.

The survey of Luanshya was completed by September 1951, that of Ndola by December 1951, of Kitwe by August 1952 and those of Chingola and Mufulira by December 1952. In Ndola I was able to use the students who were on a social workers' training course to do some of the interviewing. For the surveys of Chingola and Mufulira the team was broken into two parts so that the studies could be made concurrently. In October 1952 a social survey on exactly the same lines was started in Livingstone. By kind permission of the Location Superintendent, Mr. R. Beaton, we were able to use the African Welfare Officer, Mr. Lee Setumo, on interviewing and the Institute used Mr. Davidson Sianga. The survey was under the general supervision of Miss McCulloch.

The cards have all been punched but must first be verified before they can be mechanically tabulated. By the end of 1952 therefore

the sociographic survey on the Copperbelt had been completed and the survey of Livingstone half completed. A total of approximately 8,500 interviews have been conducted involving approximately 26,000 cards. It will be some time before these cards will be ready for tabulation. Preliminary results based on the studies in Luanshya and Ndola have already been circularized.

In addition to the social survey I have managed to make two further studies which are likely to be of some interest. With the co-operation of the Northern Rhodesia Police personal details of approximately 1,500 Africans convicted under the Penal Code were recorded. These were transferred to Hollerith cards and these cards are now being sorted and the results tabulated.

The other study involved the tabulation of details of the African labour force of Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines Ltd. These details were transferred from the staff record cards to Hollerith cards and subsequently tabulated by kind permission of the General Manager at the Roan Antelope Copper Mines. I hope to publish some of these tabulations in the near future.

While I was on the Copperbelt I was invited to submit some of my findings at the Conference of District Commissioners at Chingola in December 1951. During September 1951 to May 1952 I lectured to the African Social Workers' training course at Ndola on sociology and psychopathology and assisted in the oral examinations in August 1952. (I should say here that I was trained initially as a social worker.) I also served as a member of the African Affairs Committee of the Luanshya Management Board during 1952. I addressed meetings in Luanshya, Kitwe and Mufulira on the work of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute and read a paper to the Conference of Location Superintendents in Luanshya on " Kinship and Community ". I made several radio broadcasts on the work of the Institute. I was paid a number of visits by people interested in problems of African urbanization including officials from the Colonial Office and the late Mr. Rheinnalt Jones, Adviser on African Affairs to the Anglo-American Corporation. The Binns Commission on African Education also visited me in Luanshya.

When I was appointed Director in 1952 I decided that I should complete the sociographic part of the study in urbanization and try to recruit a replacement to conduct the research into the urban social structure. At the end of 1952, however, no suitable applicant had been found.

Attempts to secure a suitable sociologist to conduct the family studies on the Copperbelt had also been unsuccessful, until early 1953 when Miss Elsey Richardson was appointed. I have written the following papers since arriving on the Copperbelt.

" Reading Habits in a Part of the Mushiri Reserve ", *Human Problems*, xi (1951), 61–65.

" A Note on the Urbanization of Africans on the Copperbelt ", *Human Problems*, xii (1952), 20–27.

" An Estimate of Fertility among Africans on the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia ", *Human Problems*, xiii (1953), 18–29.
" The Distribution of African Labour by Area of Origin on the Copper Mines of Northern Rhodesia ", *Human Problems* (forthcoming).
African Urbanization in Luanshya and Ndola. Duplicated manuscript, pp. 20 (foolscap, single-spaced).

Additional Tribal Studies

The Lunda-Lovale Study. Mr. V. W. Turner, who was appointed to make this study, arrived in Northern Rhodesia in October 1950. He accompanied me on a preliminary field trip to the Lamba area after which he went on to Ikelenge area where he spent his first field period. During this trip Mr. Turner became interested in Lunda ritual and will probably publish extensively on it later. Mr. Turner left the field for a period of preliminary writing in February 1952 which he spent at Cape Town and Manchester. Mr. Turner is due to return to Northern Rhodesia in May 1953. Mr. Turner has written a paper on the spatial separation of alternate generations among the Ndembu which will be published in *Africa*. He has also published *Lunda Rites and Ceremonies*. Occasional Papers of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum (1953), pp. 56.

The Mambwe-Lungu. Mr. W. Watson, D.F.C., B.A. M.Sc. (Cantab), who is making this study, was appointed in October 1951. He spent a preliminary period of six months reading Central African ethnography at Manchester University before coming out to Northern Rhodesia. He arrived in Northern Rhodesia in April 1952. In May of that year, I took Mr. Watson and Mr. van Velsen, also newly appointed, on a preliminary trip to the Kaonde people. Unfortunately I had a motor car accident shortly after we reached the field and had to be taken to hospital, so that I could not be with the new officers during this trip. The officers however were able to carry on and make a few simple investigations into the village structure of the Kaonde people. Mr. Watson proceeded to Abercorn in June of that year.

The Mambwe are a patrilineal cattle-keeping people belonging to the same general cultural group as the Iwa and Inamwanga. Those north of the Saisi practise a markedly different system of agriculture from those to the South. The Maswepa Mambwe, i.e. those to the South of the Saisi, follow the typical Bemba type of slash and burn cultivation whereas the Isa Mambwe have a system of green manuring. There are also differences in the organization of villages in the two areas.

The Lungu appear to be a matrilineal people dependent mainly on fishing for their livelihood. Mr. Watson has paid only very short visits to them during his first tour. He expects to spend his second tour entirely with the Lungu. He is due to proceed on a period of preliminary writing in Manchester in September 1953. Mr. Watson

has prepared one paper so far and it is based on the field trip to the Kaonde.

" The Kaonde Village," *Human Problems*, xv. 1954.

The Lakeside Tonga. Dr. Marion Pearsall was initially appointed to make this study. She arrived in Northern Rhodesia in March 1951. Unfortunately she was forced by family circumstances to resign her post before she had started field work. Mr. J. van Velsen, B.Sc. (Oxon), was appointed in her place. He came to Northern Rhodesia in April 1952 and accompanied me with Mr. Watson to the Kaonde. He went to Nyasaland in June 1952. The Lakeside Tonga are a people noted for the high rate of labour migration. The tribal society seems to have adjusted itself to this by concentrating on growing cassava which needs relatively little cultivation. This allows a high proportion of men to be out of the area for relatively long periods without any appreciable diminution of living standards. Money is sent back to the home area and this money is spent on consumers' capital goods and not on food so that the standard of living is very high. Unlike other areas a high proportion of Lakeside Tonga men go to the Union of South Africa and South West Africa and not to Southern Rhodesia.

Mr. van Velsen is due to proceed on his first period of writing in October 1953.

Historian

Mr. Lewis Gann, B.A. (Oxon), was appointed in September 1950. Mr. Gann started reading through relevant historical material in Britain and came out to Africa in May 1951. He paid a short visit to Northern Rhodesia during which he interviewed as many of the old surviving pioneers as he could. He then based himself in Salisbury and worked very largely in Central African Archives. Mr. Gann was allowed by special permission to peruse some of the " closed records ". He returned to Britain in September 1952 and has been preparing his material for publication. The following documents are available at the Institute's library.

Bibliography : " The Opening up of the Territories North of the Zambesi, 1890–1924 ".

The following manuscript will be published shortly:

" The End of the Slave Trade in British Central Africa. 1889–1912 ", *Human Problems* (forthcoming).

Unfilled Posts

At the end of 1952 the post of lawyer had just been filled by Mr. A. L. Epstein, and at the beginning of 1953 the post of Second Sociologist on the Copperbelt was filled by Miss Elsey Richardson. Neither however had arrived in Africa. Miss Richardson will spend

about six months in the rural areas of the Northern Province when she arrives in order to learn the language of the people and to get to know the cultural background of the majority of people on the Copperbelt. After this she will come to Kitwe, where she will select a small balanced sample of African families for intensive study.

Mr. Epstein is to make a comparative study of African Administration in both urban and rural areas. He will also spend some time initially in the rural areas and later move to the Copperbelt, where he will make a study of African Administration. In particular he will be interested in the growth of leadership amongst Africans in urban areas.

There has been no suitable applicant for the post of demographer and this post remains unfilled. The post of first sociologist, vacated when I was appointed Director, also remains unfilled. One other post is unfilled. This is the post of senior African research assistant. There are very few Africans of Northern Rhodesia origin who qualify in the social sciences so that we must try to recruit from South Africa. The salary scale for the post laid down in 1948, however, is too low and cannot compete with the salaries that African graduates can command in South Africa. For a while Mr. Mukonoweshuro, a Southern Rhodesian African who was a graduate in social anthropology and history, held the post but he resigned and took a teaching post in Southern Rhodesia.

III. Research Conferences

Experience has shown that too long a stay in the field is uneconomic from the research point of view. Field workers tend to become " stale " and fail to see what is significant in the material they are gathering. They miss important leads in their work and omit to follow up points of new enquiry. In the Institute we have tried to combat this by arranging periodic conferences of the research staff. The object of the conference is to give the field workers a short break from the field and to give them an opportunity of discussing their particular problems with the Director and their colleagues. This also allows a free discussion among the research staff so that their activities are directed on to the same general set of problems. Undoubtedly this system is of considerable value to research officers and they appreciate it very much.

Originally an ideal of two conferences each year was aimed at, but experience has shown that the average is more nearly three conferences in two years. This is because Conferences must be arranged at times conveniently placed in respect of the time schedule of individual research projects. Some conferences may be held during the period when officers are either going into the field or coming out of it. This reduces costs, but much of the value of the conferences may be lost because ideally the officer would have the opportunity of checking over some of the points in the field that have arisen from the criticism of his field data at the conference.

In the new five-year scheme which commenced in January 1950 financial provision has been made to allow the Institute to invite specialists to the conferences and to give the research officers the benefit of their special knowledge. This introduces new ideas and approaches and comparative information on local problems into our conferences. I should like to take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to Professors I. Schapera, J. D. Krige and M. Wilson, who were visiting specialists to our conferences during 1950–2.

The Fourth Research Conference was held in Bulawayo during July 1950. Professor Schapera was invited as visiting specialist. The Fifth Research Conference was held at Kitwe in February 1951. Professors J. D. Krige of the University of Natal and Professor M. Wilson, then of Rhodes University, were invited as visiting specialists. Mr. A. L. Epstein, then a Colonial Research Fellow read a paper on the " Conflict of Law " at this conference which was subsequently published in *Human Problems*. The Sixth Research Conference was not held until January 1953. The new staff of the Institute only arrived in Northern Rhodesia in the early part of 1952. Mr. Turner at the time was in the United Kingdom so that it did not seem profitable to hold a research conference until the entire staff was available.

THE DISSEMINATION OF SCIENTIFIC INFORMATION

One of the functions of the Institute is to disseminate scientific information on problems of human relationships in the three territories. This is done by a system of membership to the Institute, by publishing papers embodying the results of research and other information, and by operating a lending and reference library.

I. Rhodes-Livingstone Institute Membership

Private individuals, libraries and other bodies may become ordinary members of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute on payment of an annual subscription. This subscription was £1 in 1950 but the rise of costs of printing forced the Trustees to raise the subscription to 30*s*. as from January 1953. Members are allowed to borrow books and periodicals from the Library up to a period of three months and they receive all the Institute's periodical publications free of charge.

The Institute recognizes two other types of membership. Exchange members receive our publications in exchange for their own. This provides a very useful method of enlarging our library and at the same time of distributing our publications over a wide range of academic and learned institutions.

Honorary members are mainly those bodies who are donors to the Institute's funds. The largest single category of these is Government servants who receive our publications in their official capacities.

At 31st December 1952 there were 399 members. These were distributed as follows:

Paying members	179
Exchange members	79
Honorary	141
Total	399

The geographical distribution of these members was as follows:

Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland	201
Other African territories	85
United Kingdom	52
U.S.A.	30
Other countries	31
Total	399

II. Publications

Under the 1950 Research Scheme a sum of £1,000 a year has been included to finance the publication of our own researches or other papers of scientific interest. This sum is spent on the publication of our journal *Human Problems in British Central Africa*, our *Rhodes-Livingstone Papers* series, and our *Communications from the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute*. The aim of the journal is to promote discussion, and the publication of accurate information, on problems involving human relationships in the three territories. It is not intended that it should publish the shorter research articles written by the Institute's officers alone. On the contrary, it is the policy of the editors to publish analytical articles written by an interested person if they concern some problem of human relationships in the three territories. Unfortunately there has been some tendency for shorter papers of this kind to decrease recently. This is probably because there is now some competition for material from new journals such as the *Journal of African Administration* and the *Northern Rhodesia Journal*. But it is also probably due to the vastly increased duties of officers in the Administration, from whom most of our papers have come in the past. Papers written by contributors to the journal who were not research officers of the Institute over the last three years included articles on education, literacy, tribal history, disease concepts, village crafts and the Ila V.D. campaign.

The Rhodes-Livingstone Papers are concerned mainly with longer and more technical topics. Once again the authors are not confined to officers of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute but papers of general interest from others are also published. In the series published during the last three years, three have been from Institute officers, one from a Government anthropologist in Kenya and one from an Agricultural officer.

The *Communications from the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute* are papers of local interest and of limited sale.

The papers and journals are published by the Oxford University Press in Cape Town who have maintained their usual high standard of work.[1] The *Communications* are duplicated from stencils and published by the Institute in Lusaka.

Human Problems in British Central Africa

Journal IX appeared in 1950, X in 1951, XI and XII in 1952. The ideal of publishing two journals a year has not been maintained.

It has not been possible to give as much attention to our publications as is necessary. Now that the staff situation has been stabilized, however, the programme should be back to normal by 1953.

Printing costs have risen considerably between 1950 and 1952 and this has added to our difficulties. The increase in costs has been met partly by an increase in the membership fee and partly by reducing the size of the journal. Dr. Winterbottom, who had been co-editor since its inception, resigned when he left the territory in 1950. Professor Gluckman remained an editor and Dr. Colson kindly agreed to remain editor after she had resigned from the Institute. At present there are three editors, although the majority of the editorial work is undertaken by the Director. The Co-editors are interested mainly in soliciting suitable material for the journal.

Human Problems does not sell as well as the *Papers* do. Only the first number is now out of print. The following table sets out the sales of *Human Problems* for the three years and the stock as at 31st December 1952.

Number of Journal	*Date Published*	*Sales 1950–2*	*Stock 31 Dec. 1952*
II	1944	26	518
III	1945	21	522
IV	1945	20	608
V	1947	65	427
VI	1948	50	612
VII	1949	64	193
VIII	1950	73	306
IX	1950	154	222
X	1951	150	714
XI	1952	96	297
XII	1952	97	255

Initially 1,500 copies of the journals were printed but only 1,000 copies of each issue since Journal No. VII have been printed : except that 1,500 copies of Journal X were printed.

[1] Since this report was submitted, publication has been taken on by Manchester University Press.

Papers

The following papers were produced during the period 1950–2.

Paper No. 18. *Gusii Bridewealth Law and Custom*, by Phillip Mayer (1950), pp. 67.
Paper No. 19. *Land Usage in Serenje District*, by D. U. Peters (1951), pp. 100.
Paper No. 20. *Marriage in a Changing Society*, by J. A. Barnes (1952), pp. 139.
Paper No. 21. *History on the Luapula*, by Ian Cunnison (1952), pp. 42.

In addition Paper No 22, *Accommodating the Spirit among some North-eastern Shona Tribes*, by J. F. Holleman, was in the press.

I have already mentioned that for the fourth time one of our publications has been awarded the Wellcome Medal. Dr. Barnes's study of marriage among the Ngoni was awarded the Medal in 1950.

Papers 1 to 7 and 9 and 10 are all out of print. Some of these earlier publications have since become standard works in their particular fields, and the demand for them is fairly good. It would probably pay to consider reprinting some of them in the future if funds are available.

The following are the sales over three years and the stock in hand at 31st December 1952 :

No.	*Title*	*Date Published*	*Sold 1950–2*	*Stock 31 Dec. 1952*
8	Culwick : *Good Out of Africa*	1942	37	314
11	Evans-Pritchard : *Some aspects of Marriage and the Family*	1945	50	466
12	Brelsford : *Fishermen of the Bangweulu Swamps*	1946	58	644
13	Hellman : *Rooiyard*	1948	109	473
14	Allan, etc. : *Land Holding among the Plateau Tonga*	1948	95	570
15	Allan : *Studies in African Land Usage*	1949	174	531
16	Gluckman : *Malinowski's Sociological Theories*	1949	357	229
17	Holleman : *Pattern of Hera Kinship*	1949	78	713
18	Mayer : *Gusii Bridewealth Law and Custom*	1950	189	693
19	Peters : *Land Usage in Serenje District*	1951	165	673
20	Barnes : *Marriage in a Changing Society*	1952	182	682
21	Cunnison : *History on the Luapula*	1952	105	656

Of all papers still in print Gluckman's *Malinowski's Sociological Theories* has sold best. This is a work of considerable theoretical interest so that demand is fairly good.

Communications

This series was resuscitated in 1950 with the publication of Mr. Cunnison's *Kinship and Local Organization on the Luapula*. I hope to be able to publish some additional numbers in this series in the near future.

Books

Major events in the three years were the publication of the two books *Seven Tribes in British Central Africa* in 1951 and *Shona Customary Law* in 1952.

Seven Tribes in British Central Africa, edited by Dr. Colson and Professor Gluckman contained essays on seven tribes in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland. These were the Lozi by M. Gluckman, the Tonga of Northern Rhodesia by E. Colson, the Bemba of Northern Rhodesia by A. Richards, the Fort Jameson Ngoni by J. A. Barnes, the Nyskyusa of South Western Tanganyika by the late G. Wilson, the Yao of Southern Nyasaland by J. C. Mitchell and some " Shona " tribes of Southern Rhodesia by J. F. Holleman. The sales of this book have been most gratifying. At the end of 1952 there were only 200 of the original printing of 1,000 still in stock.

Holleman's *Shona Customary Law* was published by the Oxford University Press in association with the Institute and the Beit Trust. It was published late in 1952 and it is impossible to say to what extent it will sell. It is a more technical book than *Seven Tribes*, dealing with a far more limited field and subject, but nevertheless of considerable importance.

At the end of 1952 a third book, *Politics in a Changing Society* by J. A. Barnes, was almost ready to go to press.

III. The Sir Gilbert Rennie Library

At the fifty-fifth meeting of the Board of Trustees it was unanimously agreed that the library should be called after Sir Gilbert Rennie in recognition of his services to the Institute.

The library is still expanding and now at last has sufficient room in which to grow for some time to come. The library itself is a long, pleasant room with windows on both sides and doors opening on to a veranda. During the past three years £475 has been spent on books and the library has also been presented with books by Mr. Frank Untermeyer, Mr. A. Tolson, and Professor M. N. Srinivas. We have in our safe keeping, too, a collection of Commander Fox Pitt's books, for the use particularly of our research workers. This contains an especially interesting section of books on early travel in Central Africa.

We have continued to add to the number of societies or bodies with which we exchange publications. The following is a list of new exchange members who have joined the Institute since January 1950. Académie Bulgare des Sciences, Sofia ; The Eastern Anthropological Society, the Department of Social Service, Hyderabad State, India ; The Fabian Colonial Bureau ; Gordon Memorial College, Khartoum ; Institut Pasteur d'Algerie, Algeria ; Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatistica, Rio de Janiero ; International Institute of Differing Civilizations, Brussels ; Museum für Volkerkunde, Vienna ; " The Muslim World ", from the Case Memorial Library, Hartford Seminary Foundation, U.S.A. ; the National Bureau of Educational and Social Research, Pretoria ; The Tuskegee Institute, Alabama ; Universitetsbiblioteket, Lund, Sweden ; University College, Ibadan, Nigeria ; University College of the Gold Coast, Achimota ; University of Chicago ; University of Malaya, Singapore ; University of Utah, Salt Lake City ; " Optima ", Journal of the Anglo-American Corporation ; The Northern Rhodesia Society ; The National Institute for Personnel Research, Johannesburg ; The Research Centre in Economic Development and Cultural Change, Chicago ; The Tavistock Institute of Human Relations, London.

We are still receiving all publications of the Northern Rhodesia Government, and we are continuing to build up collections of Government Reports from Southern Rhodesia, Kenya, Nyasaland, Tanganyika, and Uganda. These, together with newspapers and periodicals, of which, through our exchange members, we have a very wide and varied collection, are now housed in a room of their own, leading out of the library.

Unfortunately I have to repeat the lament of my predecessor. The library is not used as fully as it might be, though there is much interesting material here, both as regards matters in Central Africa and questions of a more general sociological nature. Nearly all borrowing goes on at the moment by post, and the few people—district officers, welfare workers, missionaries, our own research workers and a few private individuals reading for external degrees, —who do use the library in this way use it intensively, and appear highly appreciative of its contents. Any member of the Institute living in the three territories and any member of the Government services of each territory may borrow the books and keep them out for three months. We have continued to issue supplements to the catalogue biannually.

The Librarian has the task of dealing not only with the classification and cataloguing of new books and periodicals but also with membership. Now that we have adequate space also there is a considerable degree of reorganization to be done. Periodicals are now being stacked in cardboard containers and a complete index of Government reports is being compiled. When these tasks are completed we hope to resuscitate a classified bibliographic index

which fell into disuse about eight years ago. In this index every paper of interest to the three territories of which we become aware will be classified by area, subject matter and author. We should then be able to produce complete bibliographies for interested persons on any subject concerning the area. In due course we hope to issue a quarterly newsletter in which we list papers of outstanding interest on particular topics. We hope in this way to bring the potentialities of the Sir Gilbert Rennie Library to the notice of all those in the territories whose interests and duties should bring them to it.

PROSPECTS

The last three years have been spent largely in recruiting staff and setting the 1950 Scheme of Research into motion. There have been difficulties, but by the end of 1952 most of these seem to have been successfully weathered. By the end of 1952, however, the prosecution of social research in the three territories had become noticeably more difficult. The political situation following the Federation proposals had become more tense and it is natural that sociological research workers, working as they must on the fringe of two racial groups, must become suspect by both races and their work impeded. It is unlikely that the plight of sociological research workers will be much ameliorated until the political situation is somewhat eased. In the meantime they are continuing as best as they can.

On the other hand the value of sociological research is becoming more and more appreciated. During 1952 the Institute was twice asked to conduct social investigations. Extracts from reports of officers of the Institute have appeared in Government reports in Southern Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia. In an address to the Royal African Society on 10th July 1952 the late J. D. Rheinnalt Jones was able to quote material from the Copperbelt study and show that in some respects our studies in this direction are in advance of those in the Union of South Africa. The future of research in British Central Africa therefore may not appear to be as dark as first imagined.

The 1950 Scheme of Research comes to a close at the end of 1953. Therefore in the remaining years ahead, with the scheme going ahead and almost all posts filled we expect to achieve much more than in 1950–2. The mature results of the 1945 scheme will appear in print. Professor M. Gluckman's study of Lozi law, the fruits of almost ten years' work, is now in print and expected to appear in 1954. Dr. Barnes's study of the Ngoni will also appear in 1954. My own study of Yao social structure will probably appear in the same year. Similar works by Dr. Colson and Dr. Cunnison are also expected before the end of 1955. At the same time the preliminary results of the 1950 Scheme will appear. There will be papers on the Copperbelt, the Ndebele, the Mambwe, the Lunda and the Nyasaland

EXPENDITURE HEAD

	1950	1951	1952
A.			
Scheme R370	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s.
Central Office	5088 3 3	3885 9 2	5019 19
First Sociologist	1360 8 7	2035 13 10	1316 19
Anthropologist: Lunda-Lovale	927 12 6	1519 1 9	1378 15
,, : Lakeside Tonga		1212 1 2	1452 12
,, : Mambwe-Lungu		907 14 2	1545 19
Historian	159 18 11	1037 12 4	1037 0
Lawyer			89 0
Two Senior African Res. Assts.		32 10 0	636 13
Six Junior African Res. Assts.	85 12 9	320 10 4	816 15
Incorporated Schemes			
R31	1277 16 11	424 19 8	263 8
R194	963 3 11	1174 13 6	121 4
R345A			361 18
Excess of Revenue over Expenditure	13188 18 7	4240 7 2	
	£23051 15 5	£16790 13 1	£14040 7
B.			
Building Fund: Expenditure			17035 14
Excess of Revenue over Expenditure			11964 5
			29000 0
C.			
Beit Trust: Expenditure	1445 8 11	2575 6 5	2082 17
Balance brought forward from previous year			1329 2
Excess of Revenue over Expenditure	1246 4 3		
	£2691 13 2	£2575 6 5	£3411 19

NUE HEAD

	1950			1951			1952		
tions and Grants	£	*s.*	*d.*	£	*s.*	*d.*	£	*s.*	*d.*
uthern Rhodesia Government	300	0	0	300	0	0	300	0	0
rthern Rhodesia Government	4615	0	0	4615	0	0	4615	0	0
asaland Government	100	0	0						
nganyika Government	100	0	0	100	0	0	100	0	0
nya Government	50	0	0	50	0	0	50	0	0
ganda Government				50	0	0	50	0	0
S.A. Company	450	0	0	350	0	0	350	0	0
an Antelope Copper Mine	650	0	0	450	0	0	450	0	0
ufulira Copper Mine	650	0	0	450	0	0	450	0	0
okana Corporation	700	0	0	500	0	0	500	0	0
oken Hill Dev. Co.	75	0	0	75	0	0	75	0	0
l. Dev. Scheme R370	11720	0	0	9084	3	1	4618	8	6
hanga Copper Mine	625	0	0	425	0	0	425	0	0
odes Trust	100	0	0						
	20135	0	0	16449	3	1	11983	8	6
embers' Subscriptions	121	15	2	119	16	3	62	7	0
le of Publications	152	5	9	49	19	4	448	7	4
terest	52	2	0	95	19	5	203	10	4
le of Equipment	363	11	8				14	10	0
le of Equipment (Old Schemes)	13	8	0	75	15	0			
ndry Refunds	4	8	10						
lance brought forward on Old Schemes	2209	4	0						
cess of Expenditure over Revenue							1328	3	11
	£23051	15	5	£16790	13	1	£14040	7	1
nial Dev. Scheme R370: uildings)							29000	0	0
							£29000	0	0
Trust: Grants	2200	0	0				2915	14	5
lance brought forward from previous year	488	14	8	1246	4	3			
ndry Refunds	2	18	6				21	13	0
cess of Expenditure over Revenue				1329	2	2	474	11	11
	£2691	13	2	£2575	6	5	£3411	19	4

Tonga. We are also planning to publish a book on the effects of industrialization and the introduction of a cash economy in Central Africa.

But the three years ahead, too, must also be the time in which to consider the future of the Institute and its research. Many fields of research remain to be covered. Up to the present relatively little research has been done in Southern Rhodesia. Clearly there is great scope there for industrial and rural research. The peoples of Nyasaland are still inadequately known. There are still large areas in Northern Rhodesia of which we are ethnographically ignorant and many research problems are being posed in our current urban researches. In due course I intend to submit a report to the Trustees during 1954 on the research needs of the three territories.

The Institute itself is now adequately housed in Lusaka but its relationships with the new Federal Government and with the proposed University have yet to be defined. These are tasks ahead of us during the next three years.

A REVIVAL IN THE STUDY OF AFRICAN RITUAL

by

V. W. TURNER

An article based on two recent books: *African Worlds: Studies in the Cosmological Ideas and Social Values of African Peoples*, edited, with an introduction, by Daryll Forde (London: Oxford University Press, for International African Institute, 1954), and *Rituals of Rebellion in South-East Africa*, The Frazer Lecture 1952, by Max Gluckman (Manchester University Press, 1954).

RECENTLY there has been a revival in the scientific study of African ritual. This revival follows a gap of approximately two decades, during which, with a few brilliant exceptions,[1] little of significance has been written on the religions and moralities of African peoples. Two of this year's publications, *African Worlds*, the product of a decision of the Executive Board of U.N.E.S.C.O., and Professor Gluckman's Frazer Lecture, delivered at the University of Glasgow, on " Rituals of Rebellion in South-East Africa ", indicate that the tide is beginning to turn.

There are two main reasons for the current neglect of what was once the dominant field of anthropological research. The first is a reaction against the evolutionary and intellectualist approach of Sir James Frazer and his contemporaries who ransacked the ethnographic literature then available for rites and ceremonies to subsume under the heads of " magic " and " religion " which they conceived as representing successive " stages in the intellectual life of mankind ".[2] Individual rites or fragments of rites were wrested from the religious complex of which they formed integral parts, the ritual beliefs and practices of a single people were separated from one another and placed in different evolutionary pigeon-holes. *Per contra*, modern anthropological theory tends to stress the importance of the concept of " system ", a complex whole susceptible of analysis into parts by appropriate techniques. The concept of system governs not only the *procedure* of analysis, the type, arrangement and sequence of the conceptual tools employed, but the *material* to be analysed. Cultural and social data are conceived as being organized into a number of interlocking systems, each system possessing its own peculiar or idiosyncratic quality. Although such systems impinge, overlap and are enmeshed in a variety of ways, it has been found convenient to draw up a working inventory of socio-cultural systems and analyse each of them in isolation. Thus, we have recently seen

[1] Such as E. E. Evans-Pritchard's *Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic among the Azande*, Oxford, 1937; *idem*, articles on Nuer religion; S. F. Nadel's *Nuba Religion*, London, 1954; P. Tempels, *La Philosophie bantoue*, Elisabethville, 1945.

[2] See, for instance, Frazer, Sir J. G. *The Golden Bough*, abridged edition, London, 1922, pp. 711–12.

the publication of works on " African political systems ", on " African systems of kinship and marriage ", etc. Today it is felt that the ritual of a given tribe or nation should also be studied as a system, not as a congeries of unrelated beliefs and practices. It is no longer sufficient to examine the components of a tribal religion, labelling some " magical " (i.e. items of ritual behaviour which depend on a " mistaken application of the association of ideas by virtue of resemblance or contiguity ") [1] and others " religious " (i.e. items dependent on the assumption of " the operation of conscious or personal agents, superior to man, behind the visible screen of nature "),[2] to isolate such items and group them with others abstracted from other tribal ritual complexes under their appropriate evolutionary rubrics, to illustrate " the movement of man's higher thought ". Today the ritual system is the unit of study. Neither of the books reviewed attempts to make a complete analysis of the ritual system of a people, but the concept of system dominates the handling of the material in both. It has given a new impetus to the study of ritual.

The second reason for the desuetude of scholarly and systematic studies of African ritual probably lies in the recent rapid economic and political development of the continent. Anthropologists, impressed by the spectacular politico-economic changes going on before their eyes, have tended to focus their attention on the political and economic aspects of the indigenous social systems. This bias, now almost a tradition, has diverted attention from the rich and rewarding data still to be found in the field of ritual and belief.

The two publications reviewed, in their different ways, are moves to redress the balance. *African Worlds* is a symposium containing contributions from nine well-known anthropologists, on " the cosmological ideas and social values " of a number of African peoples, ranging from four West African societies in the Sudan and on the Guinea Coast, through the Central African Lele, to four cattle-keeping peoples of the grasslands of Eastern Africa. *Rituals of Rebellion* studies a specific category of religious rituals among the South African Zulu and Swazi tribes, regarding such rituals as the enjoined expression of tensions and conflicts in the social systems of these groups.

In *African Worlds* the notion of system concerns the method of presenting and analysing the data rather than the cohesion of the data themselves. Indeed, Professor Forde, in the first page of his admirably succinct introduction, warns against the assumption that the world-outlook of a people is " necessarily all of one piece ". Even in a small and isolated society, " both the historical sources of knowledge and belief and the contexts of activity in which these are evoked are likely to be diverse ". In this book the contributors fall into two clearly demarcated groups ; those who lay a dominant stress on cosmological ideas and those whose main interest is in

[1] Frazer, *op. cit.*, p. 54. [2] Frazer, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

social values. The first group tend to utilize as basic data creation myths or tribal myths of origin. The second seem to aim at presenting the *moralities* of the groups they have studied, regarding morality as a separate category of investigation. They abstract data which for them has the quality of " moral ", from the whole field of social phenomena, from ritual and secular contexts alike. Those writers who have found among the peoples investigated a coherent and constant cosmogony, a creation-myth which treats of the foundation of the natural and social orders and of the relation between them, have naturally tended to emphasize the systematic character of their material. Professor Griaule and Dr. Dieterlen, for example, in describing the cosmological ideas of the Dogon of the Western Sudan (p. 83), write of " a conceptual structure which reveals an internal coherence, a secret wisdom, and an apprehension of ultimate realities equal to that which we Europeans conceive ourselves to have attained ". On the other hand, those contributors who have attempted to isolate moral norms and values from the totality of social institutions in which they are embedded have found much that is contradictory and mutually incompatible in their material. Dr. Wagner, for instance (p. 27), writes that the above difficulty, together with the cultural bias of the investigator when evaluating indigenous data, makes it impossible to present the world-outlook of a people with the same objectivity as " a straightforward description of observable custom ". There is a dangerous tendency to create order in one's material, to construct relations, and to subject it to the requirements of an intelligible coherence, where such order and coherence are lacking. It is perhaps significant that those societies which possess a consistent and uniform cosmogony or tribal foundation myth, such as the Dogon and Shilluk, have a tradition of continuous residence in a single area over a long period. Moreover, they display considerable homogeneity in tribal composition, and are surrounded in the main by neighbours possessing a similar culture and inhabiting a similar environment. In the course of ages anomalies in the cosmology have been smoothed out and a regular and coherent charter vouching for the natural and social orders and their interrelations has been evolved.

Professor Gluckman also operates with the conceptual tool of " system ", but he uses it in a significantly different way from the contributors to *African Worlds*. The point of departure for his analysis of " rituals of rebellion " is to be found in his definition of a " social system " (p. 21) : every social system, he writes, " is a field of tension, full of ambivalence, of co-operation and contrasting struggle ". Social relations are for him, as for Freud, not of a uniform or simple quality or nature, i.e. mutual respect, mutual love or mutual hate. They are *ambivalent*, that is, love and hate can *coexist* in the same relationship. For every norm which prescribes the mode of relationship between two or more social persons there exists a rebellious wish, usually repressed or unconscious, to overset

the norm. The metaphor of " field " suggests that a social system, like an electro-magnetic field, has its positive and negative *poles*—the interests of the group are opposed to the anarchic desires of the individual, norms enjoining conformity to collective values are confronted by sectional and individual urges to rebellion. Professor Gluckman sees in a certain class of rituals, including the Zulu *nomkubulwana* ceremony and the Swazi *incwala* ceremony, which he calls " rituals of rebellion ", the means of providing a regular discharge or catharsis of such desires and urges directed against the normative order of society. Whatever the ostensible purpose of such ceremonies, i.e. the ensuring of a good harvest or the prosperity of the tribe, " a most striking feature of their organization is the way in which they openly express social tensions: women [in the *nomkubulwana* ceremony] have to assert licence and dominance as against their formal subordination to men, princes [in the *incwala* ceremony] have to behave to the king as if they covet the throne, and subjects openly state their resentment of authority " (p. 3). Social values are not accepted uncritically or unresentfully, even in what Professor Gluckman calls " repetitive social systems ", i.e. social systems which are relatively stationary, as compared with systems like our own which are changing and developing. Indeed, in such repetitive systems he argues that a ritual of rebellion is " an instituted protest " which actually " in a complex way renews the unity of the system ". Such rituals tend to occur precisely within " an established and unchallenged social order ". Simply *because* the order itself is beyond question or radical revision, conflicts within it may safely and legitimately be expressed in ritual, since no alternative social order is envisaged. " Particular conflicts are settled not by alterations in the order of offices, but by changes in the persons occupying those offices " (p. 21). The powerful affect, generated by conscious and unconscious hostility to the norms and values of the social order, is ejected from internal perception into external symbols and symbolic behaviour, a dramatic conflict of symbolic rôles and persons takes place, in the course of which aggression against the norms is transformed into its opposite, loyalty towards them. The hidden, illicit rebellious emotions are purged through " pity, fear and inspiration ". At this point I would like to postulate that the whole strength of the rebellious affect which is released in and through the ritual is *transferred* to the " official " social order, not merely purged and allowed, as it were, to evaporate. I suggest that a careful examination of what might be called the " temporal structure " of a ritual of rebellion, that is, the internal sequence of ritual events, would enable us to see how, in mimetic actions, in the manipulation of symbols and the kinds of symbols successively handled, this transference of affect is brought about.

In *African Worlds*, there is, surprisingly, little discussion of ritual symbolism. Professor Griaule and Dr. Dieterlen, in their essay on Dogon cosmogony, are notable exceptions to this generalization.

They write (p. 83) of " a logical scheme of symbols expressing a system of thought which cannot be described simply as myth ". But their emphasis is on a single aspect only of ritual symbolism, i.e. symbols as comprising a *cognitive* system. Symbols are not only signs or referents by which one infers " a system of thought ". They are also stimuli of emotions and desires, and it is in this capacity that they engender the psychic energy associated with the ritual situation. Each crucial or pivotal symbol in the ritual system of a society evokes through a chain of associations powerful feelings and wishes inherent in a number of social and cultural situations. The study of symbols in these aspects enables us to grasp how people feel as well as think about their cardinal social institutions and how their feelings are harnessed in support of the social order.

African Worlds, however, does not set out to make theoretical advances in the study of ritual. Its main aim is " to compass in brief the world-outlook of a number of African peoples " and in this it succeeds admirably. It reveals both the diversity of such world-outlooks and points up recurrent themes underlying the diversity. Professor Forde, in his introduction (p. x), attempts to account for the diversity by first pointing out that the contributors have tried to show the intimate relationship existing between three kinds of system, ecological, social and religious. His argument then becomes a little deterministic : it runs as follows—" material and cultural backgrounds of indigenous life in Africa have *conditioned* the beliefs and attitudes of its peoples " (p. viii) ; such backgrounds have been widely divergent ; *therefore*, the world-outlooks have been divergent. One of the contributors, Mrs. Douglas, in her essay on the Lele of Kasai, does not appear to accept this causal sequence. She writes (p. 1) : " It is useless to discuss any aspect of Lele religion without first summarizing the material conditions of their life. This is not because these seem to have determined the bias of their religious thinking. On the contrary, the manner in which they have chosen to exploit their environment may well be due to the ritual categories through which they apprehend it." This caution is salutary. All that can be demonstrated for such preliterate communities, in the absence of historical records, is that a functional relationship exists between ecological, social and religious systems. In the case of societies, such as the Dogon, which have remained in the same area without much disturbance in the form of conquest or culture contact over a great period of time, it may be said that a high degree of congruence exists between them. Incidentally, while it is unlikely that we will ever be able to prove the connection, the cosmogony and esoteric myths of the Dogon present some remarkable parallels with the writings of such European mystics as Paracelsus and Jacob Boehme. The Dogon concept of the " egg of the world " (p. 84) within which " lie, already differentiated, the germs of things ", recalls Boehme's " Ungrund " or " Urgrund ", " groundlessness " or the " abyss ", the unmanifest nature of the Godhead, within which " a will to

manifestation " arises, and which by seven successive phases of movement " towards manifestation " gives rise to the whole of creation. The Dogon believe, in a similar fashion (p. 84) that " the germs of things, in consequence of a spiral movement of extension develop first in *seven* segments of increasing length, and that at the seventh vibration the segment breaks its envelope ". Like Boehme too, the Dogon conceive of creation as a rotatory movement. Boehme called this, " the wheel of creation " or the " Divine Mercury ". There is no space to consider here many further extraordinary parallels or to speculate on their significance. It is known, however, that Paracelsus and Boehme were both deeply read in that body of esoteric Jewish doctrine containing strong elements of pantheism known as the Kabbala, the earliest documents of which appeared in the first and second centuries A.D. It may be that both the Dogon cosmogony and European mysticism owe something to the esoteric tradition of the Near East which also preceded and powerfully influenced Neo-Platonism. The only alternative to a diffusionist explanation would be that both are parallel and independent creations of the mythopoeic imagination. A major difference between them is, of course, that the Dogon, in their system of myths and symbols, are able, as Professor Griaule and Dr. Dieterlen show, to express a correspondence between their social organization and the world order as they conceive it, while the mystics presented their world-views in " cabbalistic " language, claiming that they were the productions of a personal divine inspiration which had to remain a closed book to the impure of heart and the uninitiated.

The publication of these two works on African ritual at the present time, under the authorship and auspices of such eminent scholars, marks a most significant return to a field of study in which still lie hidden the solutions to many of the problems of social dynamics. It is to be expected, therefore, that the pendulum of anthropological research will begin to swing away from social structure and economics towards religion once more.

BOOK REVIEWS

Ethnographic Survey of Africa

M. Manoukian, *Tribes of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast* and *The Ewe-speaking People of Togoland and the Gold Coast.*
Daryll Forde, *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples of S.W. Nigeria* and with G. I. Jones, *The Ibo and Ibibio-speaking Peoples of S.E. Nigeria.*
H. D. Gunn, *Peoples of the Plateau Area of N. Nigeria.*
L. and P. Bohannan, *The Tiv of Central Nigeria.*

These six sections of the *Ethnographic Survey of Africa*, now being published by the International African Institute, refer to West Africa, but the opportunity in noticing them is welcome in order to draw attention to the usefulness of this series to many whose work takes them to Africa but who are not anthropologists. Civil Servants, missionaries, members of commercial and similar organizations and settlers, wishing to know something of the African peoples among whom they live and work, have long had a legitimate complaint that no ready sources of information were available. In a few cases definite studies were available, but more often what had been recorded was scattered in various books and journals, often in more than one language, and almost certainly difficult of access in most places in Africa. The Ethnographic Survey, by summarizing this scattered information in a handy form, has done a most useful service for those who want to learn something of the people among whom they live.

This is not to say that these and the other parts of the Survey give a completely up-to-date and comprehensive account of all the peoples concerned. It is pointed out in the Foreword to them that the available data is often of unequal value, but this in itself is of value, since those with the inclination to contribute to existing information can judge in what fields data is most defective and, one hopes, direct their energies to filling some of the gaps. The Ethnographic Survey should in this way serve as a stimulus to producing more information, which, in the absence of specialist studies by trained anthropologists, will be of considerable use.

The quality of the sections of the Survey is admittedly variable for more than one reason ; apart from the type of data upon which the compilers could draw, there is the fact that in some cases the compilers have first-hand knowledge of their subject in the field, in others they have not. The former generally give a more convincing picture of their subject than the latter, as one might expect.

A few general criticisms of the series may be made : there is often a tendency for demographic information to be given at rather great

length; secondly a clearer warning might be given that data is drawn from sources covering several decades and that some earlier accounts no longer represent the present situation. This latter criticism is a very real one in view of the very rapid change taking place in many African societies. The newcomer to Africa rarely realises how fluid the state of many such societies is, when he first arrives, and may interpret written statements of the past as having a greater present validity than in fact they have. This is of course especially true of those parts of Africa where culture contacts with the Western world and the Industrial Revolution have been intense in recent years. The difficulty of giving a true picture of these changing societies is particularly exacting in contrast with the more static areas of Africa, and a warning to the student to this effect should be given in clear terms.

In short, whatever the shortcomings of this series may be, they provide a valuable help to those in Africa who are interested in the people around them, and for this reason if no other they deserve wide publicity and our gratitude to the Institute for making them available.

C. M. N. White.

Merran McCulloch, *The Ovimbundu of Angola.*
V. W. Turner, *The Lozi Peoples of North-Western Rhodesia.*
M. A. Jaspan, *The Ila-Tonga Peoples of North-Western Rhodesia.*

The International African Institute has, with the above three titles, added substantially to the work already done on the Ethnographic Survey of Africa.

Each of these three publications adequately fulfils the purpose of the Survey, " to present in a brief and readily comprehensible form a summary of available information concerning the different peoples of Africa. . . ."

While each of these publications includes an impressive bibliography, indicating a good deal of hard work on the part of the authors, perhaps the most significant feature of each is that it " points out the directions in which the need for further studies is most pressing ". This is not to say that these studies are merely a series of delineations of gaps to be filled in: on the contrary, this writer was constantly and vividly aware of his debt to the authors for uncounted and countless hours of patient searching and meticulous compilation. These little volumes should prove invaluable not only to the research social scientist, but to all who in any way work with and for the African people. To all field workers—and particularly younger ones—the challenge is clearly implicit in these studies.

T. Wylie.

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July to December 1953

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